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THE
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AND
DEFORMITIES
OF
FOX, NORTH, AND BURKE.

FRONTISPIECE.



*Published as the Act directs Feb. 2 16. 1784.
by J. Stockdale*

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R E A S O N S

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FEW modern Books, perhaps, have been distinguished by a more extensive Sale, than **THE BEAUTIES OF FOX, NORTH, AND BURKE, AND THE DEFORMITIES OF FOX AND BURKE**, as distinct and separate Publications; the former having run through two large Editions, and the latter through one large Edition in one Week.

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Feb. 14, 1784.

To the P U B L I C.

THE COALITION formed between *Lord North*, the *Right Honourable Charles-James Fox*, and *Mr. Edmund Burke*, having been justified under a pretence that the *American war* was the cause of their difference, and that when it was at an end, no reason any longer subsisted against their acting together in the service of their country, the following publication is submitted to the impartial and dispassionate reader, as at once the most direct and fairest means of exposing the futility of such a defence, and indeed of every argument in favour of so unnatural a junction.

In the course of the ensuing pages, the hardest of belief must be convinced, that the
difference.

difference between *Lord North*, *Mr. Fox*, and *Mr. Burke*, was not occasioned by a variation of sentiment on any one great national topic, or political point, in particular: it was the SYSTEM of *Lord North* that *Mr. Fox* and *Mr. Burke* continually opposed, and invariably reprobated. Every sheet teems with this most glaring fact. Those Gentlemen not only condemned the American war as an outrage against the constitution, humanity, and common sense, and not only repeatedly pledged themselves to call *Lord North* to account for the consequences of it, but publicly accused him of being a TORY, and hence AN ENEMY to the liberties of the people—of ignorance, laziness, incapacity, absurdity, and want of foresight, as a MINISTER—of possessing neither knowledge or conception of the art of FINANCE—of being deceitful, ambitious, ungrateful, avaricious, treacherous, and vindictive, AS A MAN—of having lost us thirteen Colonies, increased the national debt one hundred millions of money, and ruined us in the *West-Indies*—and of having formed a design against our rights and happiness AT HOME. They despised him equally as a MINISTER and a MAN. In his PUBLIC

SITU-

SITUATION, there is scarcely a crime they did not impute to him; and, as AN INDIVIDUAL, they held his character to be so extremely shocking, and highly offensive, that Mr. Fox even went so far as to declare, "*he should deserve to be branded as the most infamous of men, if ever he approached his* "THRESHOLD;" while Mr. BURKE treated with the most ineffable contempt the idea that Lord North (to use his own expression) would ever be able "*to take HIM by the* "PAW."

Whether LORD NORTH *deserved* the abusive epithets applied to him by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, or the complaints they made of him, or not, is a matter that cannot be left at this time of day undecided upon. It is, however, scarcely necessary here to consider whether what was said *of him*, and *to him*, was well founded, or not: it is sufficient for the present purpose to know, that Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, THEY heaped every charge on the noble Lord that he is loaded with; and that THEY, Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, BOTH OF THEM, are men of honour,

nour, and above uttering *that which is not strictly agreeable to truth and justice.*

Confident as the People of England are of this, a COALITION with such a man could not but create a more than ordinary degree of surprise. Had *Mr. Fox* and *Mr. Burke* joined the noble Lord for the purpose of effecting *any one specific public object* previously agreed upon, from which *any certain good would have accrued to the nation*, the motive and tendency of the junction might possibly have reconciled it to the people. The moment, however, it was found that those persons had linked themselves together FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, the *Coalition* immediately struck every one as a MONSTER of the most alarming kind; nor can it at all astonish, that it should have produced those *twin brothers* in folly, oppression, and despotism, the RECEIPT TAX and EAST-INDIA BILL, and have drawn on those who formed the *Coalition*, the displeasure of the Sovereign, and the censure and contempt of the public.

*Shakspeare-Tavern,
Friday, Jan. 9, 1784.*

THE

THE
DEFORMITIES
AND
BEAUTIES
OF
FOX, NORTH, AND BURKE.

March 14, 1769.

MR. *Trecothick* produced a representation from New York, which he moved might be brought up. The representation was couched in modest terms, but denied the right of the Parliament to tax them.

Mr. *Burke* observed, there might be, and was, a proper medium; *that we had an undoubted right to tax America!*

January

January 10, 1770.

Mr. *Burke* said, that the people of England, to a man, *abhorred the Minister*, and asked the Speaker, if *the chair did not tremble under him* * ?

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* observed, that the licence Gentlemen *bad used in their language, seemed as if the old decent freedom of debate* was at an end †.

November 22.

On Mr. *Dorchester's* motion respecting Falkland's Island,

Mr. *Fox* rose in defence of the Minister.—He answered no arguments sensibly; but shewed some ingenuity, in endeavouring to confound the reasonings of his opponents. Cunning, much life, more profligacy, some wit, and little sense, is no unfair account of his performance. But he trusted to numbers, which beat all understanding.

* If the people of England really abhorred the Minister (Lord North) *fourteen years ago*, as Mr. *Burke* here declares to be the case, it might not be impertinent to ask Mr. *Burke*, what Lord North has done *since that period*, that he should not be still as much abhorred by the people of England as ever ?

† Mr. *Fox* has not complained, of late years, of the licence Gentlemen have used in their language; but whether the freedom of debate has been more decent than before, is a point we shall leave those at all acquainted with the history of Parliament to determine upon.

Same

Same Day.

On Public Writers.

Mr. *Burke* said, How comes this *Junius* to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrouled, unpunished, through the land? The mermidons of the Court have been long, and are still pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or you, or you:—no; they disdain such vermin, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one, than he lays down another dead at his feet. For my part, when I saw his attack upon the King, I own my blood ran cold: I thought he had ventured too far, and that there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many truths. Yes, Sir, there are in that composition many bold truths, by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancour and venom with which I was struck. In these respects, the North Briton is as much inferior to him, as in strength, wit, and judgment. But while I expected from this daring fight his final ruin and fall, behold him still rising higher, and coming down soufe upon both Houses of Parliament. Yes, he did make you his quarry, and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouched, and still crouch beneath his rage. Nor has he dreaded the terror of your brow, Sir,—he has attacked even you, Sir,—and I believe you have no reason to triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying away our Royal Eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock, he has laid you prostrate. King, Lords, and Commons, are but the sport of his fury.

What is the cause of this general aversion to Law, this universal conspiracy against Government? It does not arise from the natural depravity of the people, nor

from the accidental misbehaviour of our Courts of Law: the whole is chargeable upon the Administration. The Ministers are the grand criminals. Till they are removed and punished, the kingdom will be in a scene of anarchy and confusion.

December 6.

On the motion of Serjeant Glynn, "That a Committee be appointed to enquire into the administration of criminal justice, and the proceedings of the Judges in Westminster Hall, particularly in cases *relative to the Liberty of the Press*, and the constitutional power and duty of juries."

Mr. Fox asked the supporters of the motion what they were about? You have yourselves confessed, said he, that you are no legal House of Commons; that you are *de facto*, not *de jure*; and you are going to arraign the venerable Judges of Westminster Hall, and enter on a revision of the laws of the land. Who do you think will pay any attention to your authority? From your former confessions have they a right? No; they cannot (if they take you at your own words) hold you, or your debates, in any other light, than the idle declamations of so many coffee-house politicians. *I have heard a great deal of the people, and the cries of the people*; but where, or how, am I to find out these complaints? So far as my enquiries have led me, *these complaints do not exist*; for as long as the MAJORITY of this House continue to think otherwise, (who are the people, by being their legal representatives,) I shall think with them*.

* How is this opinion of Mr. Fox's to be reconciled to his conduct, during that part of Lord North's administration when he invariably differed from the very large MAJORITIES by which that noble Lord was supported?

January

January 22, 1771.

Mr. Fox observed, that, if it was all smoke on one side the House, it *was all flame and fire on the other* (looking towards the Opposition side); and that there was an essential difference between the *rights* of the people, and the *security* of the rights of the people †; that the latter, and not the former, had been the object of the Ministry.

Mr. Burke, in reply, said, that he could not but comment upon the Right Honourable Gentleman's distinction between the *rights* of the people, and the *security* of the people's rights, which was very logical; but that the people were so dull, that they would concur, in spite of what the Right Honourable Gentleman had said, "*that, if there were no rights, there were no security needed.*"

March 18.

On the commitment of the messenger by the Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen Oliver and Wilkes, for apprehending J. Miller, the printer.

Mr. Fox said, that the honour of the House was concerned in vindicating their own act; that, having ordered their messenger to apprehend Miller, he could not be guilty of an assault in the execution of his office; and that it was most disgraceful for the House to suffer their servant, who had an equal protection with any Member, or even the Speaker, to remain one instant in confinement.

April 30.

Mr. Fox vindicated the manner of sending *Treasury lists* to their friends, whom to ballot for; that it was

† Surely this could be for no other purpose than to explain away the rights of the people!

necessary for Administrations to do so on *all occasions* *.

December 17.

On East-India Affairs.

Mr. Burke declared he would oppose any measure that might prove subversive of those rights which the East-India Company not only enjoyed by charter, but *which they had bought*. The able Counsel at the Bar have so fully gone through the Company's rights to appoint supervisors, and so ably stated to the House the necessity of such appointment, that I will not follow them through one inch of the ground they have gone over, persuaded, as I am, that they have left conviction on the mind of every Gentleman who retains the least particle of parliamentary independence, and *the least regard to national faith*. Sir, you have heard at your bar what your Committees have done. One has been so slow in their motions, that the Company have given up long since all hopes of redress from them, and the other has gone on altogether as rapid, that they do not know where they will stop. Like the fly of a jack, the latter has gone *hey go mad*; the other, like the ponderous lead at the other end; and in that manner, Sir, *have roasted* the East-India Company. *Shame upon such proceedings!* Recollect, I intreat you, your dignity. Recollect too, *the national faith is in this instance violated!* And I conjure you, by all that is either dear or sacred, that you will recollect the noble intrepidity of your brave ancestors, and *how* they would have acted, *if any Minister in their time* had dared to have told them, that the India Company were in a state of actual bankruptcy, and that they were on the brink of ruin, when he himself was the cause of that ruin. In short, considering that the Go-

* What has been Mr. Fox's opinion of this sort of ministerial interference since his dismissal from the Treasury Board by Lord North?

vernment annually receive from the East-India Company ONE MILLION NET MONEY, for duties, customs, and excise, I think no bill should be assented to, which may at all affect their revenue*.

March 23, 1772.

On a motion for restraining the India Company from dividing more than six per cent. on their capital.

Mr. Burke said he meant to prove the following propositions :

1. That the East-India Company were not before the House.
2. That if ever they were there, they had been brought before the House by force, fraud, and menaces.
3. That the treaty between Government and the Company was, on the side of the former, *iniquitous in every part of it.*
4. THAT, WITH RESPECT TO THE TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS, *not one Lawyer, with a "RAG OF A GOWN UPON HIS BACK, OR A WIG WITH ONE TIE," had given it as his opinion, that the right to these possessions was vested in the Crown, and not in the Company †.*
5. That the French East-India Company, under a despotic Government, was in a better situation

* What an admirable contrast this would form with some late speeches of the same Right Honourable Gentleman !

† What would Mr. Burke have thought of Mr. Lee, the late Attorney General's declaration, that a charter "*was a piece of parchment, with a lump of wax dangling at the end of it,*" had he retained his opinion of the Company's right to their territorial possessions when Mr. Fox introduced his East-India Bill ?

than

than the English East-India Company, under a Government which pretended to liberty.

6. That, with respect to the mode of conducting itself, the French Government was *angelic*, compared with the English.

7. That the very vote then about to pass, *was such an infringement upon chartered rights, as the spirit of Englishmen ought not to brook, and such a violation of the constitution, as might indeed be paralleled, but could not be exceeded in the annals of any country, how despotic soever*.*.

Respecting the French East-India Company, he said, that, when they were in a deplorable situation, the King took their debts upon himself, and has since punctually discharged them; that in the worst of times he had permitted them to divide *five per cent.* and that he and his Ministers had acted, compared with our King and his Ministers, with respect to their East-India Company, *like angels*; and that the French East-India Company had flourished more in a land of despotism, than the English East-India Company ever had done in a land of boasted liberty; *but our liberty consisted in boasting only, and was imaginary.* What, says he, are you about to do? *Are you not going to invade the rights of the Company, as invested in them by charter? Have you such an authority by the Constitution? No! Are you not going to assume it? Yes! Are you not going, as my noble friend (Lord John Cavendish) has observed, to*

* N. B. This Edmund Burke, who here declares, the restraining the India Company from dividing more than six per cent. on their capital, "*an infringement on chartered rights, which the spirit of Englishmen ought never to brook*," is the same Edmund Burke, who so lately, repeatedly, and warmly, supported a bill for seizing the government, papers, and effects of the Company, and vesting them in the hands of strangers!

seize

*seize the Executive Power, and illegally to deprive the Directors of the Company of their rights * ?*

February

* After asserting thus much, whatever good qualities the admirers of Mr. Burke (for even Mr. Burke has his admirers) may ascribe to that Gentleman, *consistency*, not to say *principle*, is surely not to be reckoned amongst them, if we are to give any sort of credit to the following extract from Mr. Burke's speech in the House of Commons, in support of Mr. Fox's East-India bill, on Monday December 1st, 1783: "A great deal, said Mr. Burke, has been thrown out about the violation of charters, and the rights of individuals. The bill then before the House, he said, he considered as the *Magna Charta* of Indostan. It was of more importance than ten charters of the East-India Company, and demanded their earnest attention. Mr. Burke defended the taking the continuance of the administration of the Company's affairs out of the hands of the Court of Directors; and said, after what was past, and the consequences, some of which he had shortly touched on, it would be an act of lunacy to continue the government of the territorial acquisitions, and the management of the territorial revenues, any longer in the Company's own hands. The East-India Company had forfeited their trust in various instances; and with what pretence could they talk of the sacredness of chartered rights, who had broke through chartered rights in India, in innumerable instances? Mr. Burke passed the warmest encomiums on the bill; and said, highly as he esteemed his Right Honourable friend (Mr. Fox) before, he admired him much more now. His bill would immortalize him, and make him the subject of adoration in India. He would venture to assert, that, when the bill was fully understood, and the system of his honourable friend universally known, both the one and the other would be as much the subjects of praise and approbation here, as he was convinced they would be the subjects of the most heartfelt gratitude in India. Mr. Burke concluded with a warm and high-wrought panegyrick on his friend Mr. Fox, whose venturing to risque his popularity, to face the industrious calumny of interested malice, to stem the torrent of factious clamour artfully raised within doors and without, and to run every hazard as a Man and a Minister, in order to carry a measure, on which the salvation of our Indian territories, and the happiness of thirty millions

February 11, 1773.

Respecting a complaint against the Speaker, of partiality, upon a petition from Mr. Tooke.

Mr. Fox said, the House had been so favourable to the printers the last time, they now imagined they had a right to libel any Member; and if the printers were suffered to go on at this rate, they would next claim, as one of their privileges, "*the right of libelling whom they pleased* *."

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, we had not lost the confidence of the people by the Middlesex election, as was foolishly thought, but by suffering with tameness the many insults that had been offered to the Sovereign and that House; that, had he *his will, those Aldermen and others, who presented their REMONSTRANCES to the Throne, should be taken into custody* †.

millions of subjects in that quarter of the globe, and the honour of the British character, depended, he declared, did him the highest honour.

Mr. Burke was upon his legs more than two hours. As he had been three years employed in studiously endeavouring to make himself master of the subject, and had not, during that time, taken up the attention of the House upon the affairs of India, he hoped he should be heard with patience, while he discussed the necessity of the present bill, and convinced the House, that, if they had any regard for the safety of our territorial acquisitions in India, and the revenues derived from them—any regard for the happiness and security of our Indian subjects, or any regard for the national interest and honour,—not a moment should be lost in passing it into a law."

* It has lately been pretty generally circulated, that, should a certain person be again in power, a stop will be put to publishing the Debates of Parliament.

† It is but justice to Mr. Fox to say, that *this* has not been, of late years, *exactly his opinion*, having more than once or twice, laid down and maintained the right of the subject to petition and remonstrate.

February

February 16.

Mr. Fox said, he had two news-papers of that day in his hand; that in each was a letter signed "*A South Briton*," which, in his opinion, was the most flagrant and malicious libel that ever appeared; that it was a libel of the most atrocious kind, as it reflected on his Majesty and the Government at large; that, if they suffered those libellers to go unpunished, we should never be free from libels*.

February 25.

Sir Edward Ashley moved, That leave be given for bringing in a bill for rendering perpetual the acts respecting the trying of controverted elections by Committees.

Mr. Fox said, he would oppose the bill, from a proof and thorough conviction that it would be parting from the power and privileges of the House; that, if any person, however unqualified, was to get a majority of votes, by this act the House would be obliged to admit him as a Member, and it would lie in the breast of the King and Lords whether the House should have any redress†.

June

* No wonder a person should be warm in recommending a prosecution against the libellers of his Majesty and the Government, who, during the whole course of his life, has observed such a wonderful tenderness towards both.

† Mr. Thomas Townshend said, that for the honourable Gentleman's (Mr. Fox's) conduct, whose arguments were generally bad, he would make no other allowance than his youth and inexperience. Mr. Aubrey also was severe on Mr. Fox, and answered his objections to the bill. Lord George Germaine represented Mr. Fox's argument as absurd and ridiculous. The Solicitor General (Mr. Wedderburne) was also severe on Mr. Fox, who, he said, "had dreadful apprehensions of losing his privileges; but did he think, if an old woman was to petition the House, her petition would be
" referred

June 8, 1774.

On the Quebec Bill.

Mr. *Burke*, in the most pointed manner, attacked the noble Lord (*Lord North*) as to his *candour* and *conscience*; and in the richest vein of humour, which kept the House in a continual roar of laughter, contended, that he possessed neither one nor the other.

December 16.

Mr. *Fox* said, it was proper to include Ireland in all the debates upon American taxation, in order to ascertain the *Parliamentary right of taxation over every part of the British dominions*.

"referred to a Committee; and, if it was, could he have any apprehensions from the decision of the Committee?" No! But if the young Gentleman (*Mr. Fox*) was not of such an obstinate disposition, he would endeavour to convince him of his error." Even Mr. *Edmund Burke*, the same *Edmund Burke* that is now leagued with *Lord North* and Mr. *Fox*, cried out shame upon it. He was at once satirical, masterly, and eloquent. He attacked the Minister in the most pointed terms; called upon his boasted honesty to support the perpetuity of the bill. He said, "though the noble Lord was daily deserted by numbers, he would still be deserted by more; for there were men in that House, *not like the Minister, tired of being honest!*" Mr. *Fox* was also opposed by Sir *Edward Aftley*, Sir *John Moleworth*, Mr. *James Grenville*, junior, Sir *George Yonge*, Mr. *Ward*, Colonel *Barré*, Mr. *Aubrey*, Captain *Phipps*, Mr. *Dunning*, Lord *George Cavendish*, Sir *George Savile*, Sir *William Meredith*, Mr. *Dowdeswell*, Serjeant *Glynn*, Governor *Johnstone*, and Mr. *Dempster*. After Mr. *Fox's* opposition to such a bill, which every independent man not only then thought, but has since found a blessing, what right has he to suppose the people will imagine there is any sincerity in his declarations respecting a *Parliamentary Reform*?

January

January 23, 1775.

Mr. Fox repeatedly called to know who was the man that advised the measures pursued against America, and said, it was HE who ought to answer to his country for the mischief and expence that might ensue.

January 26.

Mr. Burke lamented the miseries of a civil war, incurred by the precipitate ignorance of the Minister—trade destroyed—the revenue impoverished—the poor starving—manufactures stagnating—the poor-rate running into the land-tax, and both devouring the estate. He said, that, whenever the *black and bitter* day of reckoning should come, he would convict him of such a chain of blunders and neglects *as would bring vengeance on his head.*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox, speaking of the American war, said, that the contrary effect of what the Minister had promised, was foretold; but that the Minister, forsooth, in his usual negligence, avowed, that when he was pursuing a measure of the last degree of importance, he thought it treasonable in him, though the strength of the words he afterwards disavowed, yet he thought it would be blameable in him so much as to enquire what the *effects* were to be of his measures. He believed it was the first time any Minister dared to avow that he thought it his duty not to enquire into the *effects* of his measures: but it was suitable to the *whole* of the noble Lord's conduct, who had no system or plan of conduct, no knowledge of business; that he had often declared his unfitness for his station; and he agreed that his conduct justified his declaration, and that the country was incensed, and on the point of being involved in a civil war by his incapacity. *He pledged himself to join Mr. Burke in pursuing him, and bringing him to answer the mischiefs occasioned by his insufficiency, his inconsistency, and incapacity.*

C

Same

Same Day.

Lord *North* said, that, as to Mr. *Fox*, who discovered in him so much incapacity and negligence, *there was a time* when he approved, at least, *some part* of his conduct.

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox*, in reply to Lord *North*, observed, that it would readily be believed that his *private resentments* had not affected his *public conduct*, when he might have long since justly charged him with the most *unexampled treachery and falsehood*.

Same Day.

He charged all the disputes with America to his *negligence and incapacity*.

February 8.

Mr. *Fox* said, the noble Lord (Lord *North*) was all hurry, till he had effected measures for rescuing General Gage out of the very dangerous situation he was in; that he now imagined he had got him into a state of security, and meant to proceed more coolly and deliberately, because he dreaded that the defeat and destruction of that General and his troops would be wholly attributed to his Lordship's *rashness and negligence*.

Same Day.

Lord *North* replied, that it was impossible for him to escape the censure of the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. *Fox*), let him act as he might.

March 8.

Mr. *Fox* said, the noble Lord (Lord *North*) was uniform. From the beginning, his Lordship had taken care to lead the House *blindfold*, and would, he was certain,

certain, continue to do so, till he found some personal convenience in acting otherwise.

May 18.

Lord *North* said, he stood up in his place to assert, that, if the refractory Colonies could not be reduced by the present force to obedience, he should think it a right, proper, and necessary measure, *to arm the Roman Catholics of Canada*, and to employ them in that service.

Same Day.

His Lordship said, he would venture to affirm, that the *dispute* with America was not so alarming as some people apprehended. He had not the least doubt this *dispute* would end *speedily, happily, and without bloodshed.*

October 26.

Mr. *Burke* reported some expressions of Lord *North* on American affairs, some time since; such as, he would bring the Americans to his feet, &c. and contrasted them with some late events in America, which caused *a great deal of laughter.*

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* described Lord *North* as the blundering pilot who had brought the nation into its present difficulties. The Minister, he said, exulted at having brought us into this dilemma. He has reason to triumph. Lord Chatham---the King of Prussia---nay, Alexander the Great, never gained more in one campaign than the noble Lord has lost---*he has lost a whole continent.*

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* took occasion to describe the distinction between Whigs and Tories, and mentioned the present

Minister as an enemy to freedom, declaring him *to be a Tory*.

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* rallied Lord *North* on the rapid progress he had made in misfortune, having expended nearly as large a sum to acquire national disgrace, as that great and able Minister, Lord *Chatham*, had expended in gaining that glorious lustre with which he had encircled the British name.

Same Day.

Lord *North* said, he held the *pity* and *contempt* of the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. *Fox*) in equal indifference.

December 1.

On the American Prohibitory Bill.

Mr. *Fox* enumerated the several contradictions and evasions of the Minister, since the commencement of the present session, and contrasted these with his Lordship's declarations the preceding session. He observed on the doctrine of unconditional supremacy, that it went to this: tax America to any amount, or in any manner you please; if she complains, punish her with pains and penalties of the most cruel and unrelenting nature; and if she resists such tyranny and barbarity, then sit down day after day, in merciful deliberation on the most potent and expeditious way of starving or massacring the devoted victims.

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* observed, that the present was a retrospective bill; for by it the Minister inflicted punishments for acts thought innocent at the time they were committed. Our Saviour sent his apostles to teach and proclaim peace to all nations; but the political apostles, to be sent out by the Minister, would be the harbingers

harbingers of civil war, in all its most horrid and hideous forms, accompanied by fire, sword, and famine.

February 29, 1776.

Mr. Fox said, that the noble Lord (Lord North) was never to be found twice in the same temper, nor of the same opinion.

May 6.

Mr. Fox attacked the Minister on his breach of promise ever since he came into office.

Same Day.

Mr. Burke took a short view of the American war from its commencement, and jocularly observed, that, if he had not the highest opinion of the probity and integrity of the noble Lord (Lord North) and his colleagues in office, he should be inclined to suspect that they were secret friends to America, and had been bribed to betray the honour and interest of this country.

May 8.

Mr. Burke, in a committee of the House for enquiring into licences granted by the Admiralty, said, the conduct of the noble Lord (Lord North), in producing a few partial accounts of no moment, and holding all those back that were of consequence, was as insolent and contemptuous as it was unprecedented.

May 10.

On a motion for putting the Americans on the same footing as the people of Ireland, Mr. Burke took a review of the measures pursued by the Minister since the commencement of the session. He called on Lord North to tell a single act that had been done within that

period. His Lordship, it was true, might say, that he had voted *ten millions* out of the pockets of the people. He might boast that he had taken twenty thousand Germans into pay, and turned our *British transport vessels* into *German hospitals*. He might desire the representatives of the people to tell their constituents, that, in return for such lavish grants, new taxes had been laid on them, *and a four-shilling land-tax rendered perpetual*.

November 6.

Mr. Fox observed, however absurd and inconsistent the Minister had shewed himself in other respects, in his measures *respecting America*, and his *professed contempt for parliament*, he had been perfectly uniform and consistent.

November 29.

Mr. Burke said it was in vain to contend against the Minister; for the country gentlemen had abandoned their duty, and placed an implicit confidence in the Minister. But that should neither now, *nor hereafter*, prevent him from performing his duty; for let the noble Lord (Lord North) be in or out of office, when the measures which he was wildly hurrying the nation into, were totally proved to be ruinous and destructive to the interest of this country in their consequences, his Lordship might depend upon it, *that he would be made responsible for measures he had carried into execution, under the sanction of such a confidence*.

February 10, 1777.

On the second reading of the bill to empower his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the high crime of treason committed in America, &c.

Mr. Fox said, that the present bill served as a kind of key or index to the design that the Minister had been

been some years manifestly forming; the objects of which he had rendered visible from time to time, as opportunity served, as circumstances proved favourable, or as protection increased, and power strengthened. It resembled, he said, the first scene in the fifth act, when some important transaction, or circumstance, affecting the chief personages in the drama, comes to be revealed, and points directly to the *dénouement*. This plan had been long visible, and, however covertly hid, or artfully held back out of sight, was uniformly adopted, and steadily pursued: it was nothing less than robbing America of her franchises, as a previous step of introducing the same system of government in this country, and, in fine, of spreading arbitrary dominion over all the territories belonging to the British Crown.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox dwelt a considerable time on the invaluable advantages derived from the *Habeas Corpus* act, which he called the great *Palladium* of the liberties of the subject, expressing, at the same time, his astonishment, in the boldest and most animated terms, at the *insolence* and *temerity* of the Minister, who could thus dare to snatch it from the people, by a mandate manufactured by himself, though sanctioned by the Sign Manual.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the Minister is *credulous* in the extreme, because he is *fearful*; and he is *fearful*, from a *consciousness of his crimes*.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, I am not surprised at any thing. The tone of the Minister is become *firm*, *loud*, and *decisive*. He has already assured us, in this House, that he has nearly subdued America, and, from what

we

we are able to collect, he means to *extend his conquests nearer home.*

April 16.

On a motion for paying the King's Debts.

Mr. *Burke* was severe upon the noble Lord (Lord *North*), and said, that the time of bringing in this demand was full of *indecenty and impropriety*; that, when we were going to tax every gentleman's house in England, even to the smallest domestic accommodation, and to accumulate burthen upon burthen, nothing but a servility of the House, and a thorough confidence in it, and an experience in our carelessness with regard to all our affairs, could make the Minister desperate enough to tell us, *'tis in such a time we had not provided sufficiently for the splendour of the Crown.*

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox*, after describing what he termed the wanton profusion of Ministers, for a series of years back, in the several great departments of state, and the shameful prodigality which prevailed in the disposition of the revenues of the civil list, predicted *a day of reckoning*, when probably the Minister would be brought to the punishment he deserved.

April 18.

Mr. *Fox* said, Sir Robert Walpole was deemed the father of corruption; the present Minister is his equal, if not in abilities, at least in his art of *managing Parliaments*. He has improved on the founder of this corrupt system; he has carried it to infinitely a greater extent: but, then, he has had the address to *lose half the empire, as one of the first happy consequences of his experimental improvements.*

May

May 14.

Lord *North* observed, that the expences of the American war were certainly enormous, but they were necessary; and that the arts of *designing men* (looking at a certain Right Honourable Gentleman) had wrought upon our subjects in that country to throw off her obedience and constitutional dependency on this, and to resist our lawful authority by an appeal to arms.

November 25.

Mr. *Burke* severely reprobated the contract the Minister had formed with the *Princelings* of Germany as mean and humiliating, and expressed his astonishment that the Minister had condescended to the indignity and vileness of courting the alliance of *a few traders in human flesh*.

November 26.

Mr. *Fox* said, that the faithful page of History would hand down to posterity *the pusillanimity of a Minister*, who consented to set Spain the example of disarming, though the honour of the navy, and consequently of the nation, had been violated, when the rudder of an English man of war was forcibly taken from her at Port Egmont.

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* was warmed at the idea of suspending the *Habeas Corpus Act*; and said it would enable the Minister to cut down the fence of liberty, and enslave every British subject.

November 28.

Mr. *Burke* said, that he had never heard the noble Lord (Lord *North*) behave with so much candour, generosity,

nerosity, and spirit, as he had shewn in agreeing with his friend (Mr. Fox's) request for laying before the House certain papers. He had published a bond wherein he granted all; but in the end was inserted a little defeasance, with a power of revocation, by which he preserved himself from the execution of every grant he had made. His conduct, he said, reminded him of a certain Governor, who, when he arrived at the place of appointment, sat down to a table covered with profusion, and abounding with every dainty and delicacy that art, nature, and a provident steward could furnish: but a pigmy physician, who watched over the health of the Governor, excepted to one dish, because it was disagreeable; to another, because it was hard of digestion; to a third, because it was unhealthy; and in this progressive mode robbed the Governor of every dish on table, and left him without a dinner; alluding to *Cervantes'* humorous account of *Sancho Panza*, in his government of *Barataria*.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, that ever since the Minister had presided, the most violent, scalping, tomahawk measures have been pursued—bleeding has been his only prescription. If a people deprived of their antient rights are grown tumultuous—*bleed them!* If they are attacked with a spirit of insurrection—*bleed them!* If their fever should rise into rebellion—*bleed them!* cries this *State Physician*: more blood! more blood! still more blood! When Doctor *Sangrado* (said he) had persevered in a similar practice of bleeding his patients—killing by the very means which he had used for a cure—his man took the liberty of remonstrating upon the necessity of relaxing in a practice to which thousands of their patients had fallen sacrifices, and which was beginning to bring their names into disrepute. The Doctor answered, “I believe we have carried the matter a little too far; but you must know that I have written a book upon the efficacy of the practice; therefore,

fore, though every patient we have should die by it, *we must continue the bleeding for the credit of the book.*"

December 3.

Mr. *Burke* expressed the tumult and perturbation in his breast, occasioned by the information given to the House by the Minister. A whole army compelled to lay down their arms, and receive laws from their enemies, was a matter so new, that he doubted if such another instance could be found in the annals of history. The effrontery with which it was told, excited no less astonishment than indignation. Ignorance had stamped every step taken in the course of the expedition; but it was the ignorance of the Minister, and not to be imputed to General Burgoyne.

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* expressed his happiness at being prevented from speaking immediately after the fatal tidings that had attended General Burgoyne. Rage and indignation so swayed his breast at that time, that, if he had attempted to speak, his words must have been unintelligible. An army of 10,000 men had been destroyed through the ignorance, the wilful ignorance and incapacity of the noble Lord; and it called so loudly for vengeance, that, if no one else would move it, he would take upon him the task of moving directly for an inquiry into the affair.

December 5.

Mr. *Burke* said, the noble Lord (Lord *North*) seemed to contrive the most *lame, absurd, and inconsistent* measures, to give him an opportunity of shewing his *aptitude for defence*, and his *quickness at reply*.

December

December 10.

Lord North said, *he did not yet despair of gaining America!*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon (Lord North) had discovered the prettiest method imaginable to recover America. It was, he would confess, a new way; but what of that? It is a forcible, and, for that reason, a successful one? How does his Lordship mean to treat? Why, we have been beaten *pretty tolerably*. One General, and his army, are lost; the other is surrounded, and in danger: when the other shall be lost, then will be the time to treat. We have been unsuccessful almost in every thing; but it seems, by the noble Lord's *new* logic, we have not yet *been unsuccessful enough*. He was very severe on his want of candour, and his eternally shifting his ground, so as never to permit himself to be tied down to any engagement. If treaty is spoken of, his Lordship wishes for it, and the end proposed by it; if war is spoken of, his Lordship promises success: in short, whether it be conquest, unconditional submission, treaty, conciliation, taxation, sovereignty, or treating with rebels with arms in their hands, he is for every one of them, and for none of them, but that which answers immediately the temporary purposes of debate; that of voting in a majority; of keeping his place, by keeping his friends together; of urging the violent, softening his antagonists, and meeting exactly the ideas of the moderate.

Same Day.

Mr. Burke was remarkably severe on Lord North, and dwelt upon his Lordship's expression, that he meant to make propositions of peace; and appealed to the good sense, experience, and observation of the House, whether it was within the most distant views
of

of probability to expect that *he*, whose *impotence*, *incapacity*, *obstinacy*, or *inattention*, had been the cause of every measure, no matter whether it was accommodation or coercion, was the proper person to propose any measure leading any way. The plea, he contended, was monstrous; the expectation in the highest degree improbable and absurd.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox controverted every thing that had been said by the noble Lord (Lord North), and seemed, from motives of generous pity, to direct his galling attacks against the great *Financier*, sooner than press too closely on the American Minister. He reprobated the idea of the noble Lord's offering himself to be a negociator, being, he said, well convinced that the Americans would never listen to any treaty coming from his Lordship. He was obnoxious to them; and if he persisted in retaining his station as *Minister*, it would most certainly prevent every accommodation, which came recommended to them by a man whom they suspected, detested, and despised.

Same Day.

Mr. Burke took notice of the *zeal* of the noble Lord, (Lord North), and the warmth of his bosom for the public weal. He supposed it to be that *zeal*, *warmth*, and *ardour*, that had induced him to assist, if not devise, the raising of men without the knowledge of Parliament, and by that means to act unconstitutionally for the good of his country.

Same Day.

Mr. Burke said, the noble Lord (Lord North) reminded him of *Pericles*, who, exhausted with misfortune, wasted with disease, and lingering with pain, walked abroad, bedecked with amulets, charms, and

saws of old women. The loan, now unfilled, and unpaid, was his disease, and the charitable contributions of his friends were his amulets and charms. He was ready to grant, that voluntary donations might be fairly interpreted as proofs of a people's affection, but they were no less so of their real poverty. Private and public life exhibited pregnant proofs, that solicitations on one hand, or benevolences on the other, were the common effects of pride, poverty, and pity.

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* said, that the use the noble Lord (Lord *North*) employed the word *constitution* in, brought to his recollection *Dean Swift's* application of *Whusked*, a prostitute Irish crown lawyer's motto on his coach, *Libertas & natale solum*; which would be applied by every man according as his own ideas led him, or as his interest pointed out. Just so with the noble Lord (Lord *North*); the idea annexed to the word *constitution* by him was very different from its true import in a limited monarchy. He might mention it as often as he pleased, and ring the changes upon the *constitution*, *constitutional*, &c. but he might as well vainly expect, that his garter would preserve him from the gout, or his ribbon expel a fever, as to imagine, that to prostitute the word *constitution* would prevent an investigation into his conduct at some future period.

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* said, it would be happy for the *Minister*, if the last war could be forgotten; to the end that the contrast of the present disgraces might not strike the nation so strongly, and render the *Minister*, the contriver of our misfortunes, the execration of the People.

January 22, 1778.

Lord *North* said, that if the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. *Fox*) had not spoke *treason*, he had gone very near it.

January

January 27.

Mr. Fox animadverted on an expression made in the House some time ago by the noble Lord, "*that he was an unfortunate Minister.*" He played upon the word above an hour, and in the course of his speech recapitulated every mistake or supposed error in the Minister, with the continued repetition of this expression, "*If the noble Lord had been so fortunate as to have done this, or if he had not been so unfortunate as to have mistaken that, neither the Nation, nor the Minister, would have exposed themselves to the necessity of an inquiry.*"

February 6.

Mr. Burke shewed the monstrous expence of employing the Indians; that one Indian soldier cost as much as five of the best regular European troops; but the Minister thought that *inhumanity* and *murder* could not be bought too dear.

March 9.

Lord North positively denied that any war could break out between this country and France.

March 19.

Mr. Fox thought Lord North's ignorance of a treaty having been signed between France and America, deserved a censure of the highest nature.

May 6.

Mr. Fox asked the House, if any man in his senses would give a vote of credit to a *Minister*, who was always the *last* who learned what he should have been the *first* to know?

D 2

Same

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, it was impossible to estimate the guilt of a Minister, who could tamely suffer an hostile squadron to carry unmolested destruction to the British army in America. The disgrace of a Burgoyne was, it seems, to be atoned by the defeat of a Howe; and the want of information respecting the *Franco-American* treaty is compensated in the ignorance of D'Estaing's sailing and destination. Was there any thing more wanted to seal the fatal character of the present inauspicious Ministry? or could *be* any longer hope to be trusted with the treasures of a nation he had so shamefully betrayed, and of whose situation even the noble Lord himself seemed to entertain very little confidence?

Same Day.

Mr. Burke said, it was idle to pretend that the destination of the Toulon fleet had been so long a secret, or that it was criminal, if true. American pilots had long been engaged to conduct it; but we had lost the advantage of the wind by the *crime* of the *Minister*. Were we therefore to give our purse-strings to his will, and retire in confidence to cultivate our gardens, smooth our lawns, and assume the little offices of rustic magistracy? Could we trust the sole guidance of the ship of state to a pilot, whom we have lately detected in the basest torpor whilst the danger threatened—who left her to the mercy of the waves, quitting the decks in the very moment that called for his skill and activity—and who was not to be found when the squall came on? Alas! the rudder was lashed, and *Palinurus* gone to sleep!

Same Day.

Mr. Burke lamented that his country should be reduced to the poor dependence of hopes and prayers, the arms of old women; and that a British Minister, instead of acting the statesman, and timely exerting the strength

strength of the nation, should dwindle into a priest, and piously offer up his *prayers* for the salvation of his country!

May 28.

Mr. *Burke* charged Lord *North*, in the most direct terms, with *the loss of America*.

November 26.

Mr. *Fox* said, I know that views of succeeding to some of the offices of state will be assigned as the motives of my conduct in opposing the Minister; but we are now in such a situation as to make me neglect such considerations. Nobody is more sensible than I am of the necessity of unanimity at this juncture, and I wish I had an opportunity of supporting a Minister with justice to my country; *but that can never be with the present one. I know him too well to do so*; and will, as my duty directs, give him every opposition that my situation, my opportunities, and my talents, whatever they may be, will enable me. I know that my doing so will be called clogging the wheels of government, at a time when they ought to be assisted by every man; but we are reduced to that paradoxical situation, that I must chuse of two evils, for they have not left us any power of chusing any good: it is a paradox, in fact, and I will take that part which appears to me to be, though bad, the best; I will consequently use all my abilities to remove the present Minister, by using every means in my power to *clog* him in the House, to *clog* him out of the House, and to *clog* every thing he engages in, while he fills that place he so much disgraces. I will do so, because I think this is less ruinous than to submit any longer to his blundering administration, and his blundering system of politics.

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* said, his Majesty in his speech tells you,
D 3 that

that your efforts have not been attended with all the success which the justice of our cause, and the vigour of our exertions, seemed to promise. The speech, on all hands, is allowed to be the speech of the Minister; it is parliamentary to consider it so; and I will tell the noble Lord, that that is not *false*, that it is not *founded*, and that the speech is *false*; that you had more success than you deserved, and that you ought to be happy at the issue of your exertions, and contented that things are no worse: you had every success that could be expected from the noble Lord, and more, for you have escaped: your fleet was sent out under the brave and able commander Admiral Keppel; twenty sail only to meet thirty ships of the line; the fleet on which your dependence rested, and which alone stood between you and an invasion: the noble Lord (Lord North) gave every chance of its being destroyed by inequality in numbers, and your navy at one blow totally ruined.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon (Lord North) made it a point of his honour to keep in his office year after year, though his administration had been a series of misfortunes to his country; and in the very moment of additional calamities, he goes into the cabinet, and advises his Sovereign to bestow on him a most lucrative vacant place, *the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports*. And why? Because, in another year, the Crown might have nothing left to give, if his Lordship continued to govern.

December 10.

Mr. Fox remarked upon the proposed impartiality of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon (Lord North), and the directive spirit that inspired his political conduct as First Minister. Every kind of proposition for raising a regiment, and every proposer, came equally well recommended to him; he was ready to meet every man on his own ground; he that came for money should have

have it, and he that desired none should be bound to his bargain.

The noble Lord said, no *partiality* had been shewn. He could tell one instance at least, which directly contradicted that assertion. A noble relation of his (the Duke of *Richmond*) had offered to raise a regiment without a single shilling of expence to government, but *his* offer had been refused. Not that either; it was treated with a silent contempt, for a syllable of answer was never returned, not so much as to acknowledge the receipt of the letter.

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* was sarcastically severe on the Minister for affecting to open the motion by way of *avoiding confusion*, who had shewn no scruples in involving a whole continent in the worst state of confusion an empire ever experienced.]

December 11.

Mr. *Fox* believed there was a fatality in the American war, which corresponded with that of *Xerxes* against Greece. Lord *North* he compared to the Minister of that Prince, who, vindicating himself, might have said, I promised to build a bridge over the Hellespont; I built it: I promised to sail through mount *Athos*; I sailed through it: I promised to supply your army with all necessaries; I performed my promise: and yet the whole army of near two millions of men mouldered away; *Persia* was stripped of its inhabitants, and its resources exhausted; and *Greece*, notwithstanding, maintained its independence.

March 3, 1779.

Mr. *Fox* said, the Minister had evaded every thing which could possibly lead to an enquiry into his conduct, by refusing every document for his acquittal or conviction; every thing that might lead to proofs of his guilt or innocence.

March

March 8.

Mr. Fox begged leave to anticipate one of Lord North's great arguments, or rather pillars of debate. Says the noble Lord, "I was not the author of the American war. America rebelled. I am not answerable for the French war; it was the perfidy of France that made her abet our rebellious subjects. I did not encourage the Bostonians to destroy the tea, nor to rise, nor to fight, to declare themselves independent," &c. though the noble Lord is conscious that he did not take a single step through the whole business, that the next on the part of America, or France, was not literally foretold: which amounts just to this, the noble Lord confounds the *cause* with the *effect*; he presumes that the effect took place *before* the cause, and that the *cause* followed the *effect*.

When the first disturbances, relative to the destruction of the tea sent to America, broke out in that country, the noble Lord's language in the blue ribbon was, "Pass the Boston-Port-Bill, and the necessities of the people will oblige them to submit." Well, the noble Lord was mistaken, the people did not submit. Says the noble Lord again, "Send a few regiments, and force the Port-Bill down the throats of the discontented and the mutinous with powder and ball:" that recipe not proving efficacious, says the noble Lord, "We will hold out terms to them;" which gave birth to his Lordship's celebrated conciliatory plan. The conciliatory proposition was, however, treated with the contempt and derision which it merited. It imported this, "Give us as much as you please, we will accept of it, and take afterwards as much as we think fit in addition:" that is, "Give us something, and we will then scramble for as much more as we can get of you, either by force or stratagem." The noble Lord, finding himself baffled in all his plans, at length grew angry and disgusted: the whole force of this country was to be tried; the most vigorous measures were to be pursued; every thing was to be carried by the hand of strength, and America was to be brought to
the

the feet of Great-Britain, in a state of unconditional submission. This high, this boastful language proved as vain-glorious, and the attempt as unprosperous, as any other, to *bully and deceive, to cheat and frighten!*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the Minister acted under the dominion of the grossest and dullest ignorance, and was, therefore, unworthy of public trust or confidence; or, from sinister, concealed, or corrupt motives, and further urged by some powerful criminal influence operating upon his mind, had wilfully misled, and, by a studied series of delusions, and a preconcerted plan of impositions, had imperceptibly dragged, or rather allured, this infatuated country, to the very verge of destruction.

This was a dilemma, from which neither the blind confidence, or studied plausibility, of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, could extricate him. The alternative was, the Minister was either ignorant, or treacherous. If ignorant, was there a Gentleman in that House who would trust his nearest and dearest concerns to such a man? If treacherous, where was the man who would be mad enough to trust his most important concerns to a man, who, he was persuaded, would sacrifice him to his own *dishonest and corrupt* views?

Same Day.

Mr. Burke was severe upon the language of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, relative to the *collective* responsibility of Ministers, and the *individual* irresponsibility of each, for matters transacted in his *respective* department; a language, he contended, equally new in that House, and out of it; for it amounted, in fact, to an avowed irresponsibility, both *individually* and *collectively*. The Chancellor, the Secretaries of State, the First Lord of the Treasury or Admiralty, according to this doctrine, might do or suffer any thing,

thing, without being amenable to the Parliament or Nation. If they are over-ruled in the Cabinet, says the noble Lord, they cannot be responsible; if they are not over-ruled, neither can they be responsible: so that whatever any Minister had done, or hereafter might do, he was by no means answerable for; because the evil or mischief transacted was transacted in the company of others. Who are those others? That no man can tell; the advisers of the Crown are enjoined to secrecy. They may be the advisers or abettors of the greatest of all possible mischiefs, or any Member of a Committee or Council may consent to be the instrument of carrying it into execution; but what of that? The instrument may perpetrate the mischief, though, as one of the King's advisers, he may disapprove of it with impunity: if he is a mover in it, he is equally beyond the reach of public justice, or parliamentary censure; because it cannot be deemed *his* act, but that of the majority to whom it is proposed.

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* said, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, in his usual pithy and humorous manner, related a saying of the late Sir Godfrey Kneller, that a thief was not to blame; but the person who left the thing stolen in his way, which operated as a temptation to him to commit the criminal act. He begged leave to tell another story, he hoped no less humorous and applicable. Two men with cloaks went to an eating-house, and one of them stole a piece of flesh meat, and concealed it under his cloak.---Oh! said the master to one of them, you are the thief; restore me my meat. No, says the thief, I am not; I give you leave to search, having previously shifted it to his companion. The latter, being questioned in the same manner, returned it with equal dexterity to his colleague. So it was with the confidential servants of the Crown:---if any one of them is charged *personally*, it is not his act, but that of his brother advisers; and if the whole body is charged, another rises and answers for his share only, but leaves the

the nation to find out and search for the real authors : for the noble Lord tells you, that every thing is determined by a majority not known, nor whom no persons but themselves are ever permitted to know.

March 11.

On a motion for excluding Contractors.

Mr. *Fox* said, the parliamentary effect of contracting was twofold, and both the action and re-action tended to destroy the independence of the House. He then stated the mutual obligation between the Contractor and the Minister. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon said, first, to the Contractor, " I give you a good contract, on condition that you give me a good vote : " and, in the second place, the Contractor re-acts upon the Minister, " I have given you a good vote, give me a good contract ; I voted for you the other night, in direct contradiction to my senses ; I voted that we had *forty-two* ships ready for sea, when we had but six ; and I voted that the French fleet did not consist of thirty-two ships, when Admiral Keppel had but twenty though both the facts lay upon the table. I have voted all this to do you service, and I expect you will not hesitate to do me the same favour, and give me a good thing ; therefore you must not quarrel with me for two-pence a gallon on rum, or a halfpenny on a loaf of bread."

And says the Minister to another, " You know I gave you an advantageous contract, worth to you 20,000*l.* therefore I must have a sure vote in you." Here is the worst of all ties ; a double influence, a reciprocity which is truly alarming. But perhaps the insignificant advantage of *seventy-five* per cent. is nothing in the consideration of a huddling Treasury Board, who have *currency* and *sterling* always at their elbow.

March 18.

Mr. *Burke* shewed the absurdity of the arguments used by the Scotch, in justifying their violent conduct ;
and

and exposed the supineness of Government upon the attacks of the Scotch rioters on the peace and property of his Majesty's Popish subjects in that part of the empire. He hoped that Government was not *dead*, but *asleep*. At this moment he looked directly at Lord North, who was *asleep*, and said in the scripture phrase, "Brother Lazarus is not dead, but *sleepeth*." The laugh upon this occasion was not more loud on one side the House than on the other.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox charged the noble Lord (Lord North) in the blue ribbon with an act of *public perfidy*, with a breach of a solemn specific promise. He reminded the House, that, in February, 1775, his Lordship moved his conciliatory proposition, and pledged his honour to the House and nation, that he would never agree to any measure which would go to enlarge the offers therein made; yet, at the end of three years, after sacrificing *thirty millions* of money, and *thirty thousand* lives, his Lordship, in the same assembly, not only solemnly renounced all claim to superiority, revenue, and internal legislation, but consented, by the mouth of his commissioners, to the giving up the monopoly of the American trade, the appointment of governors, and all subordinate officers; and the royal prerogative of keeping up or sending an army in any part of the empire his Majesty may think proper.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox animadverted on the conduct of the noble Lord (Lord North), whose *arrogance*, he said, was unpardonable. His unreserved contempt of the whole body of the people of England without doors, was no less ungenerous than indecent. To treat his best benefactors in so haughty a style, as to lump them indiscriminately under the appellation of *populace*, and *coffee-house readers*, was a language that did not become any Member of that House, much less a Minister, who,

to be able to serve his country, should always endeavour to make himself popular, and secure the good opinion of the people in his favour; much less a Minister, who had led them into those dirty ways, which it would be very difficult to wade through, without the utmost danger of surrounding perils.

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* said, that the noble Lord (*Lord North*) had not only broke his word to that House, in every single promise he gave, but likewise to the only dutiful province in America, that of Nova Scotia.

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* laughed at the pretended exertion and vigour of the Minister, ridiculing *Lord North's* personal character of indolence, which, he said, was to be taken as the barometer of ministerial exertion, and ministerial vigour. He declared, that, so far from aiming at the *places* of the present Ministry, *they were not worth accepting, and were places of great danger.*

April 28.

Mr. *Fox* brought the whole controversy on the American war to this issue—The commanders have done their duty, they want to prove it. Ministers are conscious of their incapacity and guilt, they attempt to evade; they shrink and fly from the inquiry, conscious, that, if gone into, it must terminate in their dismissal, *and consequent punishment.*

May 3.

Mr. *Fox* said, he believed in his conscience, that it would have been happy for his country, that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon (*Lord North*) *had never been born.*

E

May

May 6.

Mr. *Burke* said, the noble Lord (Lord *North*), who had been with so much propriety compelled to sit down, was modest enough, however contradictory it might be to some of his assertions, to acknowledge it; but, says the noble Lord, the Opposition it is that has created and fomented all the discontents. Is the noble Lord serious, or has he rather had recourse to his celebrated argument of *tu quoque*? "It was not I that did it, but it was you." Such an answer is just on a line with the noble Lord's politeness, and wit, and pleasantry. He has a great example in this line of debate; the noble Lord, I mean, in the blue ribbon. He is sometimes more angry than his noble friend (Lord George Germaine), and, when he pleases, *he can be almost as witty.*

May 13.

Lord *North* very warmly insisted upon it, that every national calamity had its source in the Opposition supported by *the Right Honourable Gentleman.*

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* said, to the abusive part of the noble Lord's speech, he had but one answer to give, applicable to Administration in a body: that Opposition were well warranted to reply to them, in the words of a celebrated author (Swift's *Gulliver*), a little altered and enlarged, where, at the conclusion of his well-known Travels, he says, he could bear them well enough, in some respects; he could make allowances for their incapacity, folly, corruption, love of place and emolument; he could pity them for their blunders, their wants, their weaknesses, and gross stupidity; he felt for their miserable situation, knowing not whether to rush headlong on certain ruin, or retreat with safety; but, despicable, unprincipled, and detested, as they were, he had learned nevertheless to treat their persons with respect: yet when such men grew insolent and abusive, urged their claims

claims of merit *for what they deserve an axe*; when he beheld *such* men, in the very midst of these dire disasters and national misfortunes, endeavouring to contend that those misfortunes do not exist, or, if they do, that they ought justly and solely to be attributed to Opposition; *to see a lump of deformity and disease* (looking at Lord North), of folly and wickedness, of ignorance and temerity, smitten with pride, immediately breaks all measures of patience; it being hardly conceivable *that so much pride, vice, and folly, could exist in the same animal.*

June 11.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon (Lord North) now talked of treating with *Congress*;—formerly his language was, that he would treat with *America*, and not with *Congress*.

June 16.

Lord North said, that Count d'Almadovar, the Spanish Ambassador, had just delivered to Lord Weymouth, one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State, a Manifesto, from the Court of Spain; which, with a Message from his Majesty, he should lay before the House. The Ambassador, he said, *had been recalled.*

Same Day.

Mr. Burke reminded the noble Lord (Lord North) in particular, and the ministerial side in general, how light they had made of the probability of such an event. Whenever we have talked of a Spanish war, in addition to that of France and America, with what contempt has the Minister heard it! with what scorn has he scouted the idea! Good God! with what joy is it that he has triumphed, as it were, in our ignorance and folly! Spain, we were told, time after time, *could have no interest in joining our enemies.*

E 2

After

After proceeding some time in this strain, the Honourable Gentleman was called to order by the Speaker, who asked him, *if he had any motion to make?* If not, he could not suffer him to proceed.

Mr. Burke, said, Sir, *I could make a motion*—THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE MINISTER (pointing to Lord North) WOULD BE A VERY PROPER ONE.

June 22.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord (Lord North), after owning that we had no foreign alliances, had triumphantly spoken of unanimity, and congratulated Gentlemen on that side of the House, upon having allied themselves with those that sat on the other. This was an assertion for which there was not the smallest foundation; and it was impossible for him to state, in any phrase that language would admit of, the shock he felt when he ventured to suggest what was most exceedingly grating to his ears, and, he doubted not, to those of every Gentleman who sat near him. What! *enter into an alliance* with those very *Ministers* who had betrayed their country, who had prostituted the public strength, who had prostituted the public wealth, who had prostituted, what was yet more valuable, the glory of the nation! —THE IDEA WAS TOO MONSTROUS TO BE ADMITTED FOR A MOMENT! Gentlemen must have foregone *their principles, and have given up their honour*, BEFORE THEY COULD HAVE APPROACHED THE THRESHOLD OF AN ALLIANCE SO ABOMINABLE, SO SCANDALOUS, AND SO DISGRACEFUL!

Same Day.

Lord North said, the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) after reprobating the whole of my public conduct, is pleased to hold out several strong inducements for me to retire from public business. He offers me a full indemnity for all my past crimes and transgressions, as a public man; for which I am greatly indebted to him, though

though unfortunately I cannot, or will not, follow the advice thus given me. However, let me retire whenever I may, I shall have the pleasing reflection to console me, *that I have not bettered my fortune a single shilling.*

July 2.

Mr. Fox said, he would take the opportunity of saying a *farewel word* or two to the Minister, for the present session. He attacked the noble Lord in the blue ribbon with his usual asperity, and begged he would not have the *impertinence* to talk of *unanimity* and *spirit*; because, he said, it was *impertinent* and *insulting* to the last degree, for any set of men to recommend *that* to others of which *they were themselves* incapable of holding out an example.

November 25.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord at the head of the Treasury could not surely be in earnest, when he declared that the American war had nothing to do with Ireland. Did not that ill-fated project appear most conspicuous in every circumstance of the present situation of that kingdom? What stripped Ireland of her troops? Was it not the American war?—What brought on the hostilities of France, and put Ireland in fear of an invasion? Was it not the American war?—What gave Ireland an opportunity of establishing a powerful and *illegal army*? Certainly the American war: as much so, as that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon was accountable for the consequences of it.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox was extremely severe on the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, as Minister. The only chance he had ever had of being right, was when the noble Lord departed from, or, rather, expressly contradicted, his general line of conduct; it being always the fortune of

the noble Lord to set out wrong, and trust to chance for striking into the right road.

February 8, 1780.

Mr. *Burke* said, my noble friend (Lord George Gordon) supposes I have been made a cat's paw by the Minister. [Here Mr. *Burke* laughed very much.] I suppose, said he, that before people take a cat by the *paw*, they must have a pretty good opinion of the pliant and tractable nature of the particular animal; for there are cats so fierce, indocile, and intractable, that it would not be safe to meddle with their *paws*. Now I do not know that the Minister has ever found me of a very pliant nature; and I believe *he will never think of seizing my paw*.

February 11.

Lord *North* said, the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. *Fox*) was a powerful advocate in any cause, however arduous and difficult. His rapidity of speech, his severity of censure, and choice of words, made him an enemy to be dreaded: for his part, he feared the Honourable Gentleman as an antagonist—yet, notwithstanding this, he would rather have him for an *opponent* than a *commentator*.

February 21.

Mr. *Burke* said, the noble Lord (Lord *North*) prodigiously admired his plan of œconomy; but when *any part* of it came under consideration, the noble Lord himself was the first to condemn it. He liked the *whole*, but when it came to be *divided*, he was sure to condemn every thing.

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* said, with respect to the *influence of the Crown*, the people, he knew, would have it lessened; and,

and, for his part, he was of opinion, *that it ought to be ENTIRELY destroyed.*

March 5.

Mr. *Burke* adverted to the noble Lord's (Lord *North's*) observation, that he would speak in the *preterperfect tense*, that he had been supported by the Country Gentlemen; and said, the noble Lord need not be in danger of a grammatical error when he used any language; it was a solecism in politics he ought to take care to avoid; for he acted in direct opposition to all true sense in politics, *in direct opposition to every writer on Government, and to all honest and disonest politicians the world ever produced.*

March 21.

Lord *North* having moved, "That notice be given that the capital stock or debt of 4,200,000*l.* and all arrears of annuity due and payable in respect thereof, from the Public, to the United Company of Merchants trading to the East-Indies, be paid on the 5th of April, 1783, agreeable to the power of redemption in the said act;"

Mr. *Fox* rose to give a negative to the motion. He asked, whether the noble Lord was not content with having lost America; or was he bent upon not quitting the situation in which he then stood, till he had reduced the British Empire to the confines of Great-Britain? What good could the present motion be attended with? or, rather, what evil might it not produce? The motion was a *threat*, and the idlest of all possible menaces, because it was made at a time when the noble Lord knew in his own mind, that he neither intended, nor was capable of carrying it into execution. Why then throw it out, UNLESS THE NOBLE LORD WISHED TO RUIN THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S POSSESSIONS IN INDIA, AND TO DEPRIVE THIS COUNTRY OF THE AMPLE REVENUE SHE RECEIVED THROUGH THE COMMERCE AND TRADE OF THAT COMPANY? It was
ridiculous,

ridiculous, it was dangerous to threaten, when men dared not perform what they threatened. Let the noble Lord, let the House, turn their eyes to the probable consequences of that threat. *Good God!* what a scene of anarchy and confusion, distress and ruin, would it not occasion! Supposing even for a moment that the noble Lord really intended putting his threat in execution, and was capable of doing it, must not the public suffer considerably? How was the money to be paid off? Did not the noble Lord know, that he was obliged to pay the debt at *par*; and therefore, as the 4,200,000*l.* stood at the interest of *three per cent.* and three per cents. were at *sixty*, the public must necessarily lose a clear *forty per cent.* by every 100*l.* they paid off? But how was the noble Lord to secure the revenues which the public were to derive from the territorial acquisitions of the Company? How was he to get them home? Did not the noble Lord know that the Company was the best medium through which they would pass? Had he a plan for a new Company? And had he a design to establish a new Company on the ruins of the present one? *Was that the noble Lord's gratitude TO THOSE TO WHOM HIS COUNTRY WAS SO HIGHLY OBLIGED?*

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* execrated the narrow idea of bargaining with the East-India Company as if we were treating with an enemy, and on the supposition that we had a *right* to their territorial revenues. He reprobated the intention to give notice to the Company, according to the motion, *AS THE MOST WICKED, ABSURD, ABANDONED, PROFLIGATE, MAD, and DRUNKEN intention ever formed!*

April 24.

Mr. *Fox* said, the Minister himself, and his prostitute followers, spared no pains, had scrupled at no means, to traduce, calumniate, and lower the character of those who opposed them.

June

June 6.

Mr. Fox said, he was a friend to order, but could not support Government, because the *Minister* was acting upon a system, that, however well a man might wish to society, he could not support him; for he had dissolved all the bands of society, and had disgraced every one *who had acted with, or under him.*

November 30.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord (Lord North) does not vindicate Ministry against the charge of treachery and falsehood, and his argument is this: We are false and treacherous, and we will not employ those who know us to be so. There may be ingenuity and wit in such replies; *but there is little judgment. The Prime Minister is contented with the praise of being able to raise a laugh.*

February 20, 1781.

Mr. Burke said, so many and such great revolutions had happened of late, that he was not much surprised to hear the loss of the supremacy of this country over Ireland spoken of as a matter of very little consequence. Thus one star, and that the brightest ornament of our orrery, having been suffered to be lost; those who were accustomed to inspect and watch our political heaven, ought not to wonder that it should be followed by the loss of another.—

So star would follow star, and light and light,
Till all was darkness, and eternal night.

March 26.

Mr. Fox went particularly into the contract that had been made for rum with Mr. Atkinson. His deduction from it was, that the noble Lord (Lord North),

as *Finance Minister*, was highly criminal in his own personal conduct; in so grossly deceiving and fraudulently imposing upon that House; that his baseness in concealing the real terms was only to be equalled by his guilt in agreeing to them; and that, if no other fact than that of concealment alone were to be adduced against him, it was sufficient to prove, that he had *made a corrupt bargain, and with an evil design*, namely, for the purpose of bringing in his creatures and dependents.

April 9.

On a motion for resolving the House into a committee, to consider the propriety of the Crown taking into its own hands the territorial acquisitions of the East-India Company;

Mr. *Burke* could not help saying, that the noble Lord (Lord *North*) had, in the course of his speech, advanced several things to which he could not subscribe. *The claim*, he believed, *was unfounded*;—and he warned the noble Lord against beginning, by an act of *violence*, a business which would require all the moderation, as well as all the wisdom of the legislature, to adjust.

May 8.

Mr. *Fox* said, no man had an higher respect or veneration for the Country Gentlemen than he had; he knew their value, he loved, and revered them. He was bound to them by sentiment, as well as opinion.

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* said, it was the Trained Bands, under the well-known command of the Muster master General, who carried every question in that House; it were those that were in possession of great emoluments of pensions and inefficient places; it were the contractors, and those

those who were amassing fortunes by their servility, and growing rich by the support of measures which made other people poor. These formed the motley group which the noble Lord (*Lord North*) was pleased to honour with the name of Country Gentlemen.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox, speaking of *Lord Thurlow*, said, he was able; he was honest; and he possessed a noble and independent mind. His colleagues hated him for his virtues, they envied him for his abilities; they teased him, and threatened him; they took every occasion to make his situation uneasy. But, from his own great mental resources, his spirit broke forth, expressive of the injuries intended him, and the contempt in which he held them.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, it was evident that the Minister was equally mistrusted and despised, not only by the people at large, but, what was more, by all the first characters in the two military professions, the navy and army.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, that, as he had devoted his life and talents to the people, and of course to promote the good of his country; so, whenever he should be called by them, both were at their service to command, so far as the constitution and the laws authorised the call and acquiescence; he meant, so soon as any direct inroad was made on that constitution, and those invaluable and inestimable blessings and privileges it was meant to secure and defend.

Same Day.

Mr. Burke said, it was always the conclusion of every harangue, whatever was the beginning, when
argument

argument was exhausted; when evasion failed; when law had no more quibbles to confound, nor eloquence to confuse: "Oh! save the noble Lord (*Lord North*) is still the last!" He trusted this argument would not always prevail, when it came to this short issue, *whether we must part from the Minister, or from the Empire.*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the more unfortunate and disastrous we were, the greater likelihood there was of the present Minister remaining in office. It was his blunders, his misconduct, and misfortunes, which had proved his best recommendation. In proportion to each, his support and power increased; and if any just and certain estimate could be made, or drawn from experience, as soon as the public affairs came to be wisely or successfully administered, from that very moment, his power, consequence, and existence, as Minister, would be at an end.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the condition under which he (*Lord North*) acts, is positive. It is determined, that the wealth of this country shall be dissipated, the blood of our fellow-citizens spilt; to what purpose? Merely to support his power, and that of his adherents.

May 9.

Mr. Burke (on a motion for considering the propriety of taking the East-India Company's territories into their hands) said, that the conduct of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon (*Lord North*) had been highly disrespectful to the House, as well as injurious to the country; and when the present motion was disposed of, he should think it would be proper to move to enquire into the conduct of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, with respect to the East-India Company.

May

May 23.

On a motion for a Participation of the East-India Company's Profits.

Mr. *Burke* said, the noble Lord (*Lord North*) would not accede to the proposition of the Company, because they did not admit that the public had a claim upon them; so that the argument cut double, like a two-edged sword: for it must either be solved thus, "If you admit the claim of the public, I call upon you, in behalf of your creditors, to pay their just dues;" or thus, "If you do not admit the claim, why then I will take that *by force*, which you deny I ought to receive as a right." Most admirable reasoning! The noble Lord will neither beg, borrow, nor receive, as a due; but he will have it nevertheless, *and seize upon that by rapine and plunder to which he has no title, and cannot justify his receiving in any way.* If the Company should say to the Minister, in direct terms, "Sir, you have no right to this 600,000*l.* you attempt to extract from us;" then to be sure his Lordship would come down to Parliament, and pronounce them the most impudent violators of old agreements that ever were heard of: but if they do not express themselves in this manner, if they say nothing upon the subject, as in the actual instance at present; why then, how does the Minister conduct himself? He says, notwithstanding these men are silent, I very well understand their intention, and am sure, notwithstanding their taciturnity, they mean to contend that the public have no right to the sum claimed; and therefore, being certain that this is the case, I will make sure of the money, and *seize it by main force.* So that, whether the poor proprietors speak or not, it makes no matter; the effect is the same, with this little difference only, that, in the one instance, they might deserve the treatment they received; in the other, it was replete with unprovoked cruelty and injustice. The Minister had talked in the same style again and again, and the consequence was, *our present miserable and degraded situation!*

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Same

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* termed the regulations of the East-India Company, established by the act of 1774, a design to obtain money under a pretence of establishing a political reform; and now he (Mr. *Burke*) said, the noble Lord (Lord *North*) wanted to take away their trade, as he had formerly taken away their patronage and their purse. *Eundem negotiatorem, eundem dominum!* He had better carry (Mr. *Burke* said) all the business of Leadenhall-street at once, and transact it at the Board of Treasury. His reasoning to justify the force and violence he was using, he pronounced shamefully pitiful. The reasoning of the lion in the fable was less censurable. "This I seize," says the lion, "because I have got teeth; this, because I wear a mane on my neck; this, because I have claws; and this last morsel, not because I have either truth, reason, or justice, to support me, and justify my taking it, but because I am a lion."

Same Day.

On the same Motion.

Mr. *Burke* said, the present motion was the daring effort of a Minister determined on rapine and plunder, without regard either to truth, honour, or justice; *a violent and shameless attempt to rob the Company, in order to pursue the purposes of the most lavish waste, and the most profligate corruption.*

Same Day.

On the same Motion.

Mr. *Burke* conjured the House not to join the noble Lord (Lord *North*) and his adherents, saying, "Let us not deduce European supplies from Asiatic rapacity; let us shew ourselves awake to the calls of reason, and alive to the impulse of equity!" He concluded with saying, that he was sure, notwithstanding his endeavours, and those of every friend to justice, to prevent
the

the motion from being agreed to, that such would be its fate; yet, in discharge of *his* duty, he would move an amendment. He therefore moved, that the following words be added to the motion: "No grounds having been laid before the Committee, on which *the right of the public to a participation of the territorial revenue of the East-India Company is founded*; or, if they have such right, no grounds to shew that they have a right to this particular proportion of their profits."

Same Day.

On the same Motion.

Mr. Burke said, he not only held, that *the Company's territorial acquisitions belonged entirely to themselves*, but, with respect to the bills so much talked of, he really believed they would be drawn with more alacrity on the 600,000*l.* than on the Exchequer: there was not, in his idea, a single Asiatic plunderer, who did not know the noble Lord in the blue ribbon better than to think of drawing on any fund in his disposal for a single shilling. His Lordship was so notoriously lavish, that the 600,000*l.* would be gone in a moment.

May 30.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord (Lord North), who talked so very fluently, and affected so much candour, had contradicted facts, which he had again and again asserted.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the conduct of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon was continually at variance with his sentiments.

Same Day.

He (Lord North) had repeatedly pledged his word as a gentleman, that he would never agree to any pro-

posal that might be made hereafter for granting the Americans better terms; and no doubt the personal declarations of a person of his Lordship's birth, rank, abilities, and fortune, were objects of real regard: but after all these declarations his Lordship had, in the year 1778, brought in a bill to Parliament, for enabling Commissioners to propose the most extravagant terms to the Americans; terms by which they would have had the power of taxing England, while their own country would not have been taxed by the English Parliament.

Same Day.

The noble Lord in the blue ribbon (Lord North) could not in fact make peace with America. He dared not do any thing of the kind. He had been a gentleman born, bred a man of honour, and had lived in those habits of life that precluded him from shewing himself, *after he had violated his word*. What was the situation in which his Lordship stood?

In the year 1775, when his Lordship came to the House for the conciliatory bill, he explicitly and repeatedly declared, *that farther than that he never would go*: yet this very same Lord, the First Lord of the Treasury, this ostensible Minister, had himself come down to the House, in the year 1778, and moved for the bill which sent out Lord Carlisle and the other Commissioners to America, to make an offer to her of taxing herself. This the noble Lord had done; the very same Minister that had, upon passing the conciliatory bill, affirmed, in order to get it passed, *that he would never go beyond it*. "Some gentlemen (said he) may object to this conciliatory bill, under a notion that I will come afterwards, and move for something more; but, in order to remove their scruples upon that head, I am a gentleman born, a man of honour, a great Minister, in whom Parliament may confide; and I here pledge myself, that I will not, upon the sacredness of my word, ever go farther than this conciliatory bill."

This

This Lord, however, did himself, in the year 1778, go farther, and appoint a commission *to give up the dependency of America.*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, there was no accounting for the credulity, the servility, and the meanness of Parliament, in either believing, or submitting to receive, all the monstrous and incredible stories which they had been told by the Minister (Lord North), in any other way, than by referring to the means which influence possessed; the emoluments of contracts, and the profits of a loan. It had no doubt been the study of the Minister to tell his friends, that *their payment*, like his *own bread*, depended on the American war. The American war begot extraordinaries; extraordinaries begot loans; loans begot douceurs; and douceurs begot members of parliament; and members of parliament again begot all these things. There was a mutual dependence amongst them absolutely inseparable. Thus, the power and the security of the Minister was generated by that war which was the ruin of the country.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, if any one should ask the Minister out of the House concerning the majorities he found; and he should be inclined to answer the question fairly and directly, he would immediately say, "*Do not I give them an extravagant loan to divide amongst them?*"

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, it was impossible that peace with America could ever be obtained but by a renunciation of that system which the present Minister (Lord North) had with so much fortitude adhered to; and here was another obstacle arising from the noble Lord's feelings. "Oh! spare my beautiful system," he would cry.

"What, shall I part from that, which has been the glory of the present reign, which has extended the dominions, raised the reputation, and replenished the finances of my country! No, for God's sake, let this be adhered to, and do with all the rest what you please; deprive me, if you please, of my poor situation; take all my power, all my honour and consequence, but spare my beautiful system: Oh! spare my system."

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the Minister, knowing this fact, knowing that he lived and must die with the American war, had encountered shame, and embraced it, in order to its continuance. A love of office had forced him into all those vile measures of contradiction and absurdity, which had brought infamy on the present age, and would bring ruin on posterity.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the Minister found it necessary to protract the American war, to avoid every tendency to pacification; because he knew the continuance of it was necessary to his remaining in power and place. He sacrificed honour and duty; he sacrificed the interests, and perhaps the existence of the country, to the temporary gratification of his avarice and ambition.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, supposing the Minister (Lord North) conversing with dependent members of Parliament, at his levee, on the subject of continuing the American war; in case any remonstrances should be made on that score, what would the noble Lord say? "Why, you know that this war is a matter of necessity, and not of choice; you see the difficulties to which I am driven, and to which I have reduced my country; and you know also, that I am, in my own private character, a
lover

lover of peace. For what reason then do I persist, in spite of conviction? For your benefit alone! for you I have violated the most sacred engagements! for you rejected the suggestions of reason! for you a thousand times forfeited my honour and veracity in this business! and for you I must still persist! Without the American war I shall have no places, no emoluments to bestow, not a single loan to negotiate; nor shall I be able to retain this poor situation of mine, *that I have long held thus disinterestedly*.—Put an end to the American war, and you undo all. My power will be miserably lessened, and your pay as miserably reduced. As to myself, why, I am perfectly indifferent about that; I get a little, and it is my happiness, thank Heaven, that a little contents me.

June 8.

Mr. Fox said, the revenue was, and ought to be considered as distinct from sovereignty; at least, it ought not to be asserted, that, because we had sovereignty, we had also a right to collect the revenue in our own way, *without consulting those who were to pay it*. By the experience we had in the American contest, we had surely discovered, that robbery was not only disgraceful, but that it was also ruinous. Had not the noble Lord yet felt enough of the consequences of robbery? In the beginning of that struggle, so disliked was the principle, it was even said, that if the Colonies were to send us revenue, voted in their own assemblies, we ought not to accept of it. Now, however, that maxim was abandoned with respect to America, and we saw, by the letter of one of our governors in the London Gazette, that we were happy to accept of revenue voted in any manner. It was abandoned with respect to America, but it was yet ventured with respect to the East-Indies. He (Mr. Fox) reprobated the whole of this conduct, as *impolitic, absurd, and abominable*. *The acquisitions of territory had been made for the purposes of commerce, under the express sanction of a Charter; and, unless*

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Government paid the expence incurred in the conquests, they had not a right to them.

June 11.

Mr. Fox said, in what light ought the bill (for paying into the Exchequer the balances in the hands of public accountants) to be regarded but as an act of the greatest cruelty, of the greatest violence, of the greatest oppression? as the act of an indolent Minister, who sleeps over the public concern; who is profuse and extravagant beyond all bounds in his corruption one day, and rapacious, and hurries after money the next; who cares not how much he wastes, provided he can by any means, *no matter how unjust, how unwarrantable, seize upon more, to use to the same wicked and detestable purpose.*

Same Day.

Mr. Burke said, the noble Lord (Lord North) had been suckled with the milk of the Treasury and Exchequer; he had grown fat upon it; and he was enamoured of, and attached to, the old habits. "*Train a child in the way that he should go, and in his old-age he will not depart from it.*" This was exactly the case with the noble Lord; he had been brought up among the abuses of the Treasury and Exchequer, and he could not now depart from them.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the whole evil (of not collecting the balances in the hands of public accountants), he insisted on it, lay with the Board of Treasury, and the noble Lord (Lord North) in the blue ribbon, whom he charged with the grossest *indolence and negligence.*

Same Day.

Mr. Burke, in a speech of the most poignant ridicule, charged

charged the noble Lord (Lord North) with having, on that day, given at once the most explicit evidence of his *activity* and *negligence*, of his capacity and incapacity. He had shewn, that, as First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had been negligent or incapable of his duty; and at the same time he had shewn, by his speech of that day, that he had both the talents and the industry to comprehend what his duty was. He had been incapable or negligent in the execution; but he was active and able in the conception of his trust.

June 21.

If he (Mr. Fox) knew what the language of despair was, the noble Lord (Lord North) had talked it, and that in the warmest and most expressive manner, by *impudently daring*, at a time when the country was spending millions upon millions in carrying on the war, to stand up in his place, and to boast our having been able to act on the defensive. He used the word *impudently*, because he knew no other word in the English language, which so properly expressed the sense he had of the noble Lord's conduct.

November 27.

Mr. Fox said, the address moved for was the most extraordinary ever seen;—he must pause awhile on the *audacity* of the Minister, (for he could give it no gentler term,) in daring to put such language, as he had, into the mouth of the Sovereign. If men were unacquainted with the nature of our constitution, and knew not that the speech was contrived by a Cabinet Council, what would they pronounce the present speech from the Throne to be? What! but that it was the speech of some arbitrary, despotic, hard-hearted, and unfeeling Monarch, who, having involved the slaves, his subjects, in a ruinous and unnatural war, to glut his enmity, or to satiate his revenge, was determined to persevere, in spite

of

of calamity, and even of fate. In short, this was the language that the speech really spoke: "Much has been lost; much blood, much treasure has been squandered; the burthens of my people are intolerable: but my passions are yet ungratified; my object of subjugation, and of revenge, is yet unfinished; and therefore I am determined to persevere." This was the language; and for this language *the Minister is answerable.*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had ascribed the American war, and all the calamities of it, to the speeches of Opposition. Oh, miserable and unfortunate Minister! oh, blind and incapable man! whose measures are so framed, and with such little foresight, and executed with such little firmness, that they not only crumble to pieces, but bring on the ruin of his country, merely because one rash, weak, or wicked man, in the House of Commons, makes a speech against him! What a miserable statesman must he be, who frames his measures in so weak and wretched a manner, as to allow for no contingencies of fortune, nor provides for the rash passions; and say, if it pleases the House, the wicked passions of men! Could he expect that there would be no rash, no weak, no wicked man in the House? or was he so rash, so weak, and so wicked, as to contrive measures of such a texture, that the intervention of any unforeseen circumstance would break them to pieces, and with their failure destroy the empire of which they have the government?

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, that Ministers must expect to hear of the American war, and the calamities of it, again and again. They would be obliged not only to hear of them in that House, but he trusted that by the *aroused indignation and vengeance of an injured and undone people,* THEY MUST HEAR OF THEM AT THE

TRIBU-

TRIBUNAL OF JUSTICE, AND EXPIATE THEM ON
THE PUBLIC SCAFFOLD.

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* with great warmth reprobated the language of the noble Lord. He averred that it was *impudent*, it was *audacious*; it was something worse—it was insulting in his Majesty's Minister, this same noble Lord (Lord *North*), to look Parliament in the face, and talk so *impudently* as he had heard from his mouth. He said, if there could be a greater misfortune than those we had undergone, in the disgraceful contest we were engaged in, it was hearing the Minister rise up in the great assembly of the Nation to vindicate his measures; it was the most alarming part of our condition; *it was that which froze up his blood, and harrowed up his soul.*

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* said, he could not but speak a few words on those *rights*, which had cost us so much, and which were likely to cost us our all. Good God! exclaims the Honourable Gentleman, are we yet to be told of *the rights for which we went to war?* Oh, excellent rights! oh, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. Oh! valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, a hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions of money. Oh, wonderful rights! that have cost Great Britain the empire of the sea; her boasted, grand, and substantial superiority, which made the world bend before her. Oh, inestimable rights! that have taken from us our rank amongst nations, our importance abroad, and our happiness at home; that have taken from us our trade, our manufactures, and our commerce; that have reduced us from one of the most flourishing empires in the world, to be one of the most compact, unenviable powers on the face of the globe.

globe. Oh, wonderful rights ! that are likely to take from us all that yet remains. . . What were these rights ? Could any man describe them ? could any man give them a body and a soul answerable to all these mighty costs ? We did all this, because we had a *right* to do it ; that was exactly the fact. "*And all this we dared do, because we dared.*" We had a right to tax America, says the noble Lord in the blue ribbon ; and as we had a *right*, we must do it.

Same Day.

Mr. Burke exclaimed, Oh ! infatuated man ! (looking over to Lord North) miserable and undone country ! not to know that *right* signified nothing without *might* ; that the claim, without the power of enforcing it, was nugatory and idle, in the copyhold of rival states, or of immense bodies. Oh ! says the silly man, full of his prerogative of dominion over a few beasts of the field, there is excellent wool on the back of a wolf, and therefore he must be sheared. What ! shear a wolf ? Yes. But will he comply ? have you considered the trouble ? how will you get this wool ? Oh ! says he, I have considered nothing, and I will consider nothing, *but my right*. A wolf is an animal that has wool ; all animals that have wool are to be shorn, and therefore I will shear the wolf. — *This was just the kind of reasoning urged by the noble Lord, and this the council given by him.*

Same Day.

Mr. Burke said, *that a day of reckoning would come*, and whenever that day came, he should be able, BY IMPEACHMENT, to bring upon the heads of the authors of our calamities, THE PUNISHMENT THEY DESERVED.

Same

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* said, the address moved for was a *delusion*; and he was not a little amazed to hear the learned Lord (Lord Advocate) make it an argument, that, if it was a *delusion*, it could not last above a week. Good God! did the noble and learned Lord know so very little of the *Minister*, as to imagine, that the shortness of time, which a *delusion* could exist, was any reason for his not practising it? The noble Lord dealt in *cheats* and *delusions*; they were the daily traffic of his invention. A week! the noble Lord had often held out a *cheat* for half that time; for a day only; nay, for a single hour. He had practised *cheats* upon the House, which died away even before the debate ended to favour which they were contrived. Had not the House seen the noble Lord *cheat* upon the subject of the conciliatory proposition? Had they not witnessed his dexterity in laying down his own *cheat* upon that occasion, and his adopting another which he thought he played off more advantageously? *The noble Lord would continue to play off his cheats on that House, as long as he thought it necessary, and had money enough at command to bribe gentlemen to pretend that they believed him.*

November 30.

Mr. *Fox* attacked Lord *North*, and with great warmth accused him of making the most *shuffling shuffles* that ever was attempted in the most *shuffling* times.

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* said, that, with respect to the letter which the noble Lord (Lord *North*) had received from the honourable Admiral, acquainting him, that the capture of Saint Eustatia was a very rich one, and that it all, every farthing of it, was the property of the Crown; he could not but admire, that such a *Minister*

as we had, who was an *old* Minister, and a *full-grown* Minister, should come to the House, and tell them, that he had received a letter from the Admiral, informing him, that every thing at Saint Eustatia was the property of the Crown, in answer to the proposed enquiry. From such conduct, the Minister might naturally be concluded *a very young man, with a large napkin under his chin*. The letter he thought more proper to have been sent to the Attorney General; but he supposed the noble Lord, who acted on the occasion as a lawyer, and sent word to the Admiral that the property was all his, as the Attorney General would have done, *had taken a fee for his advice*.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord, with regard to the question before the House, might do as he pleased with it. He might cut it and mangle it just as he pleased; but though he should cut it into a thousand pieces, if he got but any part of it, it would be sufficient for him. But the noble Lord had divided his motion in a manner that put him in mind of a *murderer*, who, having amputated all the limbs of a child, threw them different ways, in order that the father might be employed in picking them up, *instead of pursuing the murderer*.

February 1, 1782.

Mr. Burke, in the severest and most pointed language, attacked the noble Lord (Lord North), for declaring that the contract made with Mr. Townson, by the Board of Ordnance, for 400 tons of salt-petre, was a matter in which he was not immediately concerned. What! (says he) is it not the business of the First Lord of the Treasury to see that money matters of such consequence should be stated fairly and justly, previous to their being brought before the House?

Houfe? Was it not his business to have enquired into it? Most certainly it was; and I am convinced too, so important a transaction could never have been done without his management and consent: *in which case, I say, he has CHEATED the public.* [Mr. Burke was here interrupted by a loud cry for Order!]

February 4.

Mr. Fox said, that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon (Lord North) had no hand in making the contract for salt-petre with Mr. Townson, was what he could readily believe; for if he had, he would have made it at the highest price, namely, 153l. per ton; the same as he did the contract for rum with Mr. Atkinson, where he suffered *himself first to be cheated*, and then, in return, *cheated the public.*

February 19.

Mr. Fox said, the Minister had found out the true wit of the levelling principle, and discovered that lowering all men to *his own baseness*, was the only means of keeping the people in humour with each other.

February 21.

Mr. Fox was exceedingly severe on the Minister, and was glad to find that he had discovered who that evil spirit was that conducted all our mischiefs; it was a person in a higher situation than the noble Lord in the blue ribbon; for the noble Lord was only his *puppet*, and acted as he was told.

Same Day.

Lord North said, the conduct of the Right Honourable Gentleman, and Opposition, was of the most unaccountable nature. They were constantly calling on him for explanation, and for information,

in respect to this and that measure; and yet, in the very same breath, they said, *they would not give the smallest credit to a word he said.* This conduct, he said, was a paradox; it was contradictory and puerile. *Such inconsistent invective was the strongest proof that OFFICE, and not the measures of the Minister, was the primary cause of the attacks of Opposition.*

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* blamed the noble Lord's (Lord *North's*) conduct for the whole of his proceedings respecting the loan. The last year he made an INFAMOUS bargain in a bungling manner; he now wished to make a bargain equally advantageous, to influence with more safety; and he declared, that Parliament ought, if they were honest, to curb a practice, which, above all others, was destructive of their independence.

March 4.

Mr. *Fox* said, the nation would not suffer loss, disgrace, and calamity, *without calling their rulers to a severe account.* Would they now suffer loss after loss, and disaster after disaster? Were they so habituated to defeat? Had Ministry made them so familiar with sorrow, that they could now bear any loss without at all complaining? He hoped not. He had that day heard of another loss—he meant St. Kitt's was taken. He desired the Minister would inform the House if it was true that this calamity had also come upon us, and where he meant to stop—when he would confess that he had done enough. From his soul, he (Mr. *Fox*) believed, that such was his accursed obstinacy, that even when he had lost nine-tenths of the King's dominions, he would not be satisfied till he had mangled and destroyed the last miserable tenth also—pride and obstinacy were so predominant in his nature.

Same

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the people heard of our triumphs without pleasure; they heard of his Majesty's victories without any gladness; the stocks remained the same; the faces of men wore the same gloom: but that, on the instant a victory was gained over his Majesty's Ministers, whom they considered as the greatest enemies of their country, their joy was immoderate, the funds were immediately advanced, and the credit of the nation raised, *because a prospect opened itself of the Minister's going out of place.*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the end of the American war coming as it did, had completely and effectually destroyed corruption; the reign of it was over. If the conquest had come sooner, before we had been so instigated against the baneful consequences of a system of corruption, perhaps there might have been contrived *some paltry and insignificant COALITIONS,* that would have made *the system more palatable.*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, our affairs were so circumstanced, that Ministers must lose their places, or the country must be undone. He would therefore let them enjoy those emoluments which they held so dear, provided he could save his country: for this end, he was willing to serve them, in the business of peace, in any capacity, even as an under *commit*, or messenger. But, in so doing, he desired it might be understood that HE did not mean to have any *connexion* with them: FROM THE MOMENT WHEN HE SHOULD MAKE ANY TERMS WITH ONE OF THEM, he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind. He could not for an instant think of a COALITION with men, who, in every public and pri-

vate transaction, as Ministers, had shewn themselves void of every principle of honour or honesty: in the hands of such men, he would not trust his honour, even for a minute !

Same Day.

Lord North said, the Honourable Gentleman was kind enough to offer his services in a negotiation, but he would not take any part of the affairs of the public with the present Administration; and the reason he assigned was, that he could not trust his honour in their hands for a moment, that were without any principle of honour or honesty. Those were good and substantial reasons, and better certainly could not be assigned; and the same should serve him against the Honourable Member. He would never employ a person who publicly declared that he could not have a confidence in him. HE WAS INTITLED TO SAY JUST AS MUCH OF THE HONOURABLE GENTLEMAN, AND THEREFORE HE WOULD NOT TRUST HIS HONOUR IN THE HANDS OF THAT GENTLEMAN; and, *thinking of him as he did, he was determined never to act with him as a negotiator.*

Same Day.

Mr. Burke said, he did not wonder the noble Lord (Lord North) was at a loss about *new* taxes; for what fresh burthen could he add to this unhappy nation? We were already taxed, if we rode, or if we walked; if we stayed at home, or if we went abroad; if we were masters, or if we were servants; if we drank wine, or if we drank beer; and, in short, we were taxed in every possible way. Thus, after being taxed in the manner mentioned, he had endeavoured to see how the account would stand, when viewed in a mercantile

cantile form; and the first thing was, Debtor by loss, ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF MONEY: he next looked for a Creditor side, and what rendered it more curious was, that there it stood Creditor by loss; we had purchased ONE HUNDRED MILLION worth of national disasters; and the whole, when in one view, appeared as follows:

Debtor by Loss
One Hundred Mil-
lions of Money.

Creditor by Loss.
One Hundred Thousand
Men, and the loss of
Massachusetts
Pennsylvania
New-York
Virginia
Maryland
South Carolina
North Carolina
Florida
Georgia
Delaware
New Jersey
Rhode Island
Connecticut
New Hampshire
St. Vincent
Grenada
Dominica
Tobago
St. Christopher's
Senegal
Pensacola, and
Minorca;
Which, at a moderate
computation, produced
to this country annually
Four Millions and Fifty
Thousand Pounds!

After all this, Mr. *Burke* said, the noble Lord had told them, he would continue in his office out of gra-
titude

titude to the people. Gratitude! the noble Lord's gratitude! Oh! Sir, said Mr. *Burke*, addressing himself to the Chair, the noble Lord's gratitude is like that of another fallen angel like himself, described by the Poet:

*The debt immense of endless gratitude,
So burthensome, still paying, still to owe.*

So with the noble Lord; his debt immense of gratitude was endless, and could never be discharged; and therefore he had presumed to fly in their face, and to insult them with such language as ought to be reprobated by every man who had a sense of the decency due to Parliament from the noble Lord, and how ill it became him, of all men, to say, *that he would continue in his office out of gratitude.*

Same Day.

Mr. *Fox* attacked the noble Lord (Lord *North*) with uncommon warmth. The noble Lord had, at length, confessed himself totally exhausted in point of finance, and no longer able to raise taxes to pay the interest of a debt occasioned by his cursed American war: the people were burthened, and so loaded with innumerable oppressions, that even the noble Lord was at a loss how to distress them any farther. His constituents, he said, felt severely the evil effects of the noble Lord's administration; and, indeed, the whole nation felt them too severely; for he had, by a determined obstinacy to keep in place, ruined above nine tenths of the British dominions, and seemed equally determined to ruin what little remained. The noble Lord had lately talked of his gratitude, and that he only stayed in office to see his country righted. In the name of God, what good could the country expect from a man, whose whole administration had been one continued series of blunders? From the noble Lord's confession, he had proved himself,

self, what he always took him for, viz. *an ignorant and a bad financier; a man totally unacquainted with the resources of the country, and certainly unfit and unworthy of the office he held.*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, the greatest piece of delusion the noble Lord had been guilty of, was the keeping the nation in a profound darkness with respect to the state of their affairs. He deluded them by a set of taxes, which they were led to believe were sufficient for the purpose intended; therefore the public suffered him to go on, not knowing their situation: if they did, long before this would they have cried out, and have awakened from that state of lethargy which had been so disgraceful to them, and so ruinous to their country.

March 8.

Mr. Burke said the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had declared that he never would quit his office until he could *quit it with honour*; he therefore congratulated the House on the happy prospect they had of keeping the noble Lord in office; for if he never quitted his post until he could quit it *with honour*, he would be bound to say, *that he would remain in it till the last hour of his life.*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox, in an excellent speech of argument and explanation, declared, that he would be an infamous man, who should, upon coming into place, abandon the principles and professions which he had made when out of place. He was happy to say, that every principle he ever held had been adopted by a majority of that House, the decision of which had given sanction to his opinions.

Same

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, it had been thought that he gave out, that there would be formed an Administration of proscription. This he positively denied: on the contrary, it was the desire of those with whom he had the honour to act, to form an Administration on the broadest basis; an Administration which should take in all that was great and dignified in the empire; to collect all the ability, the talents, the consideration, and the weight of the nation; to draw within its arms every man of influence, every man of popularity, every man of knowledge, every man of experience, without regarding his particular opinion on abstract points, and unite and employ all this body of strength to one great end, the deliverance of the empire. He had said only *that he could form no connection with the present Cabinet; THAT HE SHOULD BE INFAMOUS IF HE DID.*

Same Day.

Mr. Fox said, in explanation of his description of the broad-bottomed Administration which his friends desired to form, that he would proscribe no men of any principles, in the present dreadful moment, but the five or six men who were now, and had been, *the confidential advisers of his Majesty in all the measures that had brought about the present calamities.*

March 11.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord (Lord North) had talked in a taunting manner, and had jeeringly called the majority a *glorious majority*: however he might be inclined, in general, to be diverted with the noble Lord's pleasantry, Mr. Fox said, he could not approve pleasantry at an improper time. God knew, that was no hour for merriment; and he begged the noble Lord to remember, *that his jests had already cost the nation dear enough.*

March

March 20.

Intimation of a Change of Ministry.

Mr. *Burke*, said, that that was not a moment of levity or exultation; he regarded it with a calmness of content, a placid joy, a serene satisfaction: he looked forward with fear and trembling; but the present was a moment of great awfulness; and every Gentleman who expected to form a part of the new Administration, or intended to support it, ought to question themselves, examine their own hearts, and see whether they had been acting upon principles that were strictly right, and upon which they could continue to act in power, as firmly as they had continued to act upon them, while out of power. If, upon such an examination, any Gentleman found he could not, that man, be he who he would, ought not to accept of power. The present, he farther said, was that peculiar period of men's lives, when their ambitious views, that had lain secretly in the corner of their hearts, almost undiscovered to themselves, were unlocked; when their prejudices operated most forcibly; when all their desires, their self-opinions, their vanity, their avarice, their lust of power, and all the worst passions of the human mind, were set at large, and began to shew themselves. *At such a time, let men take care what they did, how far they went, and what limits they prescribed to themselves.*

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* said, that a most wonderful deal of eloquence had been heard within the House, and men of the first and rarest talents had exerted themselves extremely to bring about what the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had that day declared to be near at hand. But neither the abilities of the one, nor the eloquence of the other description of persons, had tended so much towards the accomplishment of that which was so near at hand, as the spirit of the people, and the conduct

conduct of the independent Members, who best spoke that spirit. They had seen for a length of years a spirit of corruption going on; and they had seen it with melancholy minds; for, from the immense power of that corruption, from the tower with which it was surrounded and fortified, they saw no hopes of ever being able to overthrow it. For a long time, therefore, they were inactive by dejection; they were rendered submissive by despair; and this fatal torpor gave new and additional strength to the enemy; it gave them the most decisive advantage of all others,—the appearance of stability, by which the weak were seduced to join them, and the wicked were confirmed. When you were thus erroneously and criminally negligent, they were safe; but when at length, urged by the accumulated distresses of your country, when you saw there were no expectations from your patience, and that there was even no prospect from hope, you aroused from your lethargy, and testified the force of independence. When you joined together in one voice, one mind, and one action, you found that that only which lived by your submission, sunk instantly beneath your attack. He begged them, therefore, to recollect what their conduct had been hitherto, what their conduct had principally accomplished, and what ought to be their conduct in future. The removal of Ministers was one great point gained; but the end that every lover of his country must look up to, and ardently desire, *was not by any means achieved by the mere removal of Ministers.*—Much, and the most essential part of the work remained to be performed, and nothing could ensure the completion of the business, but the steadiness of the House, and, above all, the firmness of the independent Members: the new Administration was the work of their hands; it was their duty to give it that support, without which it was impossible for it to subsist. There was a certain fatality attending human nature, which very often defeated the best of purposes; *for the greatest virtues were frequently accompanied with the greatest defects:* independence, and public spirit, were attended with indolence and supineness;

ness; and those gentlemen who had affected the great change of Ministry, might lose all the benefits which might have been expected, by indolence and inactivity. Their support should be zealous and unremitting: no Administration could exist long without support; and, when abandoned by the independent interest, Ministers had hitherto resorted to the detestable means of corruption; but in that they were not so much to blame as the independent gentlemen who suffered them to do it, Government could only exist in two ways; by its purity, wisdom, and success, which secured to it the love and support of the virtuous and independent; or it must exist by means of corruption, which brought to its aid the needy and the profligate: and, as Government must be supported, the independent gentlemen ought to take to themselves blame, if they forced a virtuous Administration to resort to corruption: he repeated it, therefore, that their support ought to be steady, uniform, and active; and the more so, as the Ministers who were retiring, were not going out in consequence of an address of that day; they were not tired of their places, and their Sovereign was not tired of them; and therefore the work of the independent gentlemen would be *incomplete*, if they did not resolve to support their own Administration with zeal and perseverance. The necessity of this advice made him the more earnest in giving it; and he hoped in God now to see an Administration formed, not only of independence, but of solid, substantial, and permanent power. He hoped in God that we should now have an opportunity of perceiving *how much more beneficial to a country, as well as honourable*, A GOVERNMENT OF VIRTUE WAS, THAN A GOVERNMENT OF CORRUPTION.

April 8.

Mr. Secretary Fox said, that not a single day would be lost, until correcting the influence of the Crown, and settling upon more equal grounds the representation of the people, was fulfilled. To correct the abuses in *influence and representation*, would be the steady endeavours of his Majesty's Ministers.

H

April

April 9.

Mr. Secretary Fox said, every one who had heard the learned Lord (the Lord Advocate) so ably and so powerfully state our situation in the east, would perceive that he held up a mirror, which reflected our situation in the west. The effects of the pernicious system, which, thank God, was at last destroyed, were now felt in every corner of the empire; but his Majesty's present servants were determined to govern by *more virtuous* means. There was one proposition made by the learned Lord, he said, did not meet his wishes; and that was, THE TAKING FROM THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY, and placing under the direction of the Crown, the entire management of our territorial acquisitions in the east. This he could not approve of, consistent with his regard to the Crown, and the constitution of this country. It would afford to Government such ample means of corruption and undue influence, as might in the end overthrow the whole constitution, and deprive us of our best and dearest rights; and on this account HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE MORE PRUDENT TO LEAVE THE APPOINTMENT OF ITS OWN SERVANTS TO THE COMPANY.

April 15.

Mr. Secretary Fox acquainted the House, that he had a message from his Majesty, and he presented the same to the House. It was read by Mr. Speaker, and was as follows:

“GEORGE R.

“His Majesty, taking into consideration the supplies which have been given with so much liberality, and supported with such uncommon firmness and fortitude by his people in the present extensive war, recommends to his faithful Commons the consideration of an effectual plan of oeconomy through all the branches of the public expenditure; towards which important object, his

his Majesty has taken into his actual consideration, a form and regulation in the civil establishment, which he will shortly cause to be laid before this House, desiring their assistance towards carrying the same more fully into execution. His Majesty has no reserves with his people, on whose affections he rests with a sure reliance, as the best support of the true honour of his Crown and government; and as they have hitherto been his best support and resource upon every emergency, so he regards them as the most solid and stable security for an honourable provision for his person and family.

G. R."

Mr. *Burke* then rose, and in a most elegant speech congratulated the House, and the kingdom, on the happy æra when his Majesty, freed from that secret and injurious counsel which stood between him and his people, now spoke to them *in the pure and rich benevolence of his own heart*. The message which they had just heard was the genuine effusion of his Majesty's paternal care and tenderness for his subjects. It was what good subjects deserved from a *good King*; and every man would rejoice in and bless the day, when his Majesty, restored to the dignified independence of his elevated situation, was able to speak to his people in the language of his own heart; to participate in their sufferings; to praise and reward them for their fortitude. IT WAS THE BEST OF MESSAGES TO THE BEST OF PEOPLE, FROM THE BEST OF KINGS.

July 9.

Conversation on the Division of the Cabinet.

Mr. *Fox* said, one would naturally imagine, in an Administration formed on the principles of the men distinguished by the *Rockingham's*, that, upon the decease of that great man, whose virtues, whose nobleness of thinking, and whose firm integrity bound them together, the man would be sought, and appointed to succeed him, who most resembled him in character, in influence,

in popularity: such at least were his ideas, and the eyes of all men were naturally turned to *the Duke of Portland*. Instead of that noble person, however, the Earl of Shelburne was selected, of whom, if he meant to describe the character, he could not truly say he bore any kind of resemblance to his predecessor; perhaps the exact reverse might come nearer the picture. Perhaps it might be asked, why, thinking as he did of the Earl of Shelburne, he came with him into office at all? To this he must answer, that he had strong objections to it, and, both with respect to him, and to another noble person (the Lord Chancellor), the only thing that could make him submit to associate with them in office, was the satisfactory pledge which he had for the integrity of Administration, of which he made a part, in the noble Marquis being at the head of it.

The country had now an Administration, which could not be a popular one. It was the Administration of a man who could not think of reformation with temper, however loudly he might speak about it; a man who would declare, that the influence of the Crown ought to be diminished; but who would at the same time say, that the King had a right to use his negative in passing laws, and would threaten with the exercise of that negative all those that should move any bills that went to retrenchment. Such was the man now at the head of the Treasury; THE PRINCIPLES OF THE LATE MINISTRY WERE NOW IN THE CABINET, and the next thing he should look for, WOULD BE TO SEE THE LATE MINISTERS AGAIN IN OFFICE.

March 28, 1783.

Lord North said, that, notwithstanding the severe reflections cast on the *Coalition*, it would be found that neither party had given up their sentiments, yet they could act together for the public good. The Honourable Mr. Fox and himself undoubtedly agreed on many great

great points; and as they were known to the House, there was no occasion to repeat them.

Same Day.

Mr. Fox got up, and defended himself on the Coalition between him and Lord North: he said, if none were to be admitted to take a part in the Administration, as mentioned by the noble Lord, but those whose political sentiments never disagreed, it would be difficult, indeed, to form an Administration.

Same Day.

Mr. Burke rose, and in a full, clear, and manly way, vindicated the parliamentary conduct he had observed for a period of more than eighteen years: he had constantly voted on the same side with those noble and firm supporters of the constitution (the house of Cavendish); and he trusted he always should; he had been blamed for joining the Coalition, but he made no doubt a time would come, when he should have it in his power to convince those persons, who now raised so bitterly against it, that they were entirely wrong, and doing more hurt than they probably expected, or could compensate their country for.

April 25.

Mr. Fox took notice of a charge just made, that a Coalition had been formed for the purpose of seizing upon the reins of Government. He insisted upon it, that it was a rash expression; for the late Ministry had been driven from their station, the same as he hoped every Ministry who acted wrong would be, by a majority of that House. It was by a majority of that House that the former Ministry were removed; and of which all ranks approved. The late Ministry had been removed in the same manner; but he certainly could make allowances for honourable Gentlemen seeing things in different

lights; it was extremely natural; different situations threw different colours on the same objects. Gentlemen, he was aware, were led, from different circumstances, to see the same things in different points of view, and to colour them accordingly.

Same Day.

Mr. *Burke* said, that, if he held improper language in that House, he might be called to an account for it in a parliamentary way: if called to an account out of the House, he would answer it in a Gentleman's way; but no danger, no bullying, no threat, should ever prevent him from doing his duty; and he pledged himself to God, to his country, to that House, and to the unfortunate and plundered inhabitants of India, that he would bring to justice, as far as in him lay, the greatest delinquent that India ever saw. With regard to loose accusations, he was far above them. When he charged Mr. *Hastings*, he would do it by alleging some specific fact of criminality. To act otherwise, was something worse than acting ungenerously; it was to act the part of a calumniator, a part which he would never consent to perform. Mr. *Burke* reasoned a good deal in terms of Painting, upon overcharging a picture with colour, in order to hide an imperfect outline; and declared he would take care that his drawing should be correct and perfect, before he put on any colouring at all.

December 1.

Mr. *Fox* said, an Honourable Gentleman under the gallery (Mr. *Martin*), to whom an abuse of the *Coalition* seemed a sort of luxury, wishes that a starling were at the right hand of the Chair, to cry out, Disgraceful Coalition!—Sir, upon this subject I shall say but a few words:

The calamitous situation of this country required an Administration whose stability could give it a tone of
firmness

firmness with foreign nations, and promise some hopes of restoring the faded glories of the country. Such an Administration could not be formed without *some* junction of parties; and if former differences were to be an insurmountable barrier to union, no chance of salvation remained for the country, as it was well known that four public men could not be found, who had not, at one time or other, taken opposite sides in politics. The great cause of difference between me and the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, is no longer in existence; HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER STOOD HIGH, and we preferred uniting with the noble Lord.

December 22.

Lord North went into a defence of the union of parties upon which he had last come into office. He said, he hoped what was now obvious, would at least prove an ample justification of what had again and again been called a *curfed Coalition*; and that it would be seen, that *curfed Coalition* was not, as it had been stated, an infamous abandonment of principle, from an eagerness to grasp at power, a temporary junction of no solid basis, and held together for the sole purpose of a temporary tenure of place. It had been pretty much the habit of some gentlemen to rise for the sole purpose of talking of the *Coalition* in terms of reprobation, and in terms of scandal; they had, indeed, been sufficiently liberal of attack, but abundantly sparing of argument: but as he had a long while observed, that certain words had been got by rote, rather than that new matter of argument was started against the Coalition, when it had been lately recommended to have a *starling* brought, for the express purpose of being placed on one side of the Speaker's chair, in order to cry out, *Coalition! Curfed Coalition!* he could no otherwise solve the proposition, than by supposing, that from the tedious repetition of the same word, so often by the same person, the gentleman wished to be eased from the fatigue of the office he had imposed upon himself, and therefore proposed to do it by deputy. There would henceforth, however, he trusted, be no occasion for the *deputy* nor the *principal*,

tipal, because he conceived, that, after what the House then saw, all abuse of the *Coalition* would be at an end. His Lordship recapitulated the various Administrations that had governed the country ever since he first led the Treasury Bench, down to the *curfed Coalition*, as it was called; but which, he would venture to say, was an Administration built upon a broad basis, and which conducted itself with such internal confidence, and was as free from that infamous trick, and underhand endeavour to get advantage of each other, that too often prevailed, as any Administration that had ever existed in this country. His Right Honourable FRIEND (Mr. Fox) and he might fairly state their sentiments. They neither of them bad, and he would venture to say, they would never desire each other TO ABANDON OR FOREGO ANY PRINCIPLE THEY HAD EVER MAINTAINED. Men of honour could not ask any such thing of one another, because they knew that men of honour could not accede to any such thing. Whenever any idea had been suggested, that did not immediately coincide with his sentiments, he had opposed it pretty firmly, had answered argument by argument, and on which ever side fair reason preponderated, the other coincided. This was the only ground on which MEN OF HONOUR COULD ACT, AND UPON SUCH GROUND, HE WAS SURE, HIS HONOURABLE FRIEND AND HE WOULD CONTINUE TO ACT TOGETHER, WHETHER IN OR OUT OF OFFICE!

A SERIES

S E R I E S O F F A C T S,

Candidly submitted to the consideration of those who have the effrontery to attempt to justify, and the hardiness to support, the *Coalition* formed between Lord North, the Right Honourable Charles-James Fox, and Mr. Edmund Burke.

1st. **T**HAT Lord North, who became a Minister in 1770, and quitted in 1782, contrived in that period to double the national debt, to lose thirteen Colonies, and all our West-India islands, except Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua.

2d. That his Lordship proposed and carried the India Regulating Act of 1773, to which, as the Duke of Richmond most sensibly observed, we owe all the misfortunes that have happened to us in India.

3d. That Mr. Charles-James Fox, from 1770 to 1774, supported all the measures of Lord North.

4th. That Mr. Edmund Burke and his party were at that period the avowed opposers of Lord North; that in particular they applied the epithets injustice and robbery to the regulation and reform proposed by the India Bill in 1773; and that the very Mr. Edmund Burke, who in his late speech abused the Company and their servants for their transactions seventeen years ago, was in fact their avowed supporter and champion against Lord North and General Burgoyne in 1773.

5th. That, from 1774, Mr. Charles-James Fox united with Mr. Edmund Burke and his party, until they drove Lord North from the helm: that in this period they abused him in the most gross and scurrilous manner—of which almost every page in the parliamentary history will afford ample proofs. It is ridiculous

culous and absurd, and untrue, to assert that the American war was the only subject of difference between them: for they opposed all his measures, they threatened to impeach him, they accused him of eating his words, and renouncing his principles—they accused him of indolence, ignorance, folly, and even treachery—Mr. Fox declared he would not remain in a room alone with him; and he pledged himself, as solemnly as a gentleman could pledge himself, to be called the most infamous of men, if ever he united with the noble Lord, or any of those men who had brought this country to ruin.

6th. For two months after Lord North was turned out, Mr. Charles-James Fox scarcely ever appeared in the House of Commons without depicting in the strongest terms the miserable and distressed state of this unfortunate country; that every hour he was in office he had more and more reason to curse the folly or the ignorance of the late Ministers, their waste of public money, their neglect of the navy, their mad war with Holland; their employing the three last days they were in office in providing for their dependents, the only proof of activity they gave; that viewing and knowing all these things, though not of a sanguinary temper, their bleeding country required that they should be brought to public punishment.—Mr. Edmund Burke was at all times ready to cry "Hear! hear!" or to join his Right Honourable friend in these lamentable strains.

7th. The famous bill of reform, by which Mr. Edmund Burke and his party so effectually gulled the public, instead of saving two or three hundred thousand pounds a year, when passed, did not save above thirty thousand at most.

8th. When the Marquis of Rockingham died, Lord Shelburne became the Minister. Mr. Fox and Lord John Cavendish resigned. The former abused Lord Shelburne, though not so very grossly as he had formerly abused Lord North. However, there was
one

one expression in his abuse of that day, which surely no Englishman will avoid laying particular stress upon : " That he should not wonder to see Lord Shelburne coalesced with the old Ministry, *only that the nation would not bear to be so insulted.*" And Mr. Edmund Burke, by way of saying the worst he possibly could of Lord Shelburne, declared, *that he would, if possible, be a more destructive Minister to this country than Lord North.*

9th. After Lord Shelburne had made a peace, Mr. Fox, to get possession of power again, actually joined with that very man and his party whom for eight years past he had invariably abused, as the author of all our calamities, in order to pull down the person who had given us what Mr. Fox pretended so heartily to pant for, peace, and a diminution of the public expences.

10th. Can the most ignorant man in this kingdom misunderstand the motives for the Coalition ? Was it not an agreement of many very needy men, several of them not possessing a shilling of property in the kingdom, in order to share the little plunder left in a country almost beggared by the folly and misconduct of one of the parties, or the intemperate opposition of the other ?

11th. Distressed as the country was after the Coalition took place, would not Mr. Fox and Lord North have saddled the nation with an additional burthen, amounting to forty thousand pounds a year, if our gracious Sovereign had not opposed the measure, and refused to sign the message ?—Can this fact be denied, or explained away ?

12th. That the patronage of Ministers being circumscribed by the loss of America, and the Coalition standing on no other basis but that of mutual convenience and self-interest, spite of all Lord North's bluster, a plan was formed for seizing all the property of the East-India Company, and throwing it into the hands of the Ministers.

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107. 1892. The first of the year was a very dry one, and the water in the river was very low. The first of the year was a very dry one, and the water in the river was very low.

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